

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

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Art. I.—*Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan.* By Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D., London, 1845.
Works of the English Puritan Divines. Vol. 1. *The Jerusalem Sinner saved: The Pharisee and Publican: The Trinity and a Christian, &c., &c.* By John Bunyan: to which is appended an *Exhortation to Peace and Unity.* With *Life of Bunyan.* By the Rev. James Hamilton. London, 1845.

Of no individual, whose name does not occur in the sacred writings, can it be said with more propriety than of John Bunyan, that 'being dead, he yet speaketh.' Already has he spoken to generations past, and will speak in many languages again and again, to generations to come. It is the prerogative of genius to triumph over time. Nothing can confine its influence to the transient duration of life, or even to the limitation of ages: and that this should be the case is alike honourable to human nature and profitable to mankind; honourable, as it is a proof that the petty rivalships, envyings and jealousies, which are wont to assail distinguished excellencies *can* at length be laid aside,—and profitable, as it furnishes the means of renewed instruction to posterity. If the works of men were to perish with their bodies, how would the world be impoverished; but, thanks to the press, while the *man* dies, the *author* may live for ever.

There are comparatively few, however, whose works survive them in a living and still speaking influence. The reader has only to glance at the first collection of volumes he may chance to see, in order to verify this remark. To say nothing of the vast public collections of our land, survey the shelves of any private library; and of the array of folios, octavos and duodecimos that stand in multitudinous ranks, consider the infrequency of names upon these labelled representatives of literature that for any very lengthened period command the attention of mankind. Apart from the crowds that have gone down into hopeless oblivion, some of them sufficiently notorious in their day, think only of the visible and palpable groups of authors whose names obtrude upon the searcher after the truly great and renowned; and with a sigh for humanity and for ourselves, we must acknowledge their paucity. Of course we refer only to the first-rate order of minds—the Ciceros, the Newtons, the Miltons, the Howes, and the Bunyans.

And few as they have been, the present fashion of literature has a tendency to make them fewer. Formerly our great writers both in prose and poetry elaborated all they wrote, and it must be confessed were rather prone to perplex with intricacies and weary with prolixity. Nevertheless their genius was allowed elbow room, and fair play; and though it be often toilsome, it is always instructive to follow them in their most distant wanderings. You may be led through desert paths into deep wildernesses and up painful ascents; but are infallibly guided to a noble elevation. The present is the age of compression; every thing is brought into the narrowest compass; folios, and even octavos, are almost cashiered; and science, learning, theology—all must be crammed into a book only large enough for the children's library. Woe betide the man of detail or the man of argument; the age will not endure the ramifications of the one or the exertations of the other. It has little love for adventurers in thought. It is the age of action, not of thinking; for it demands that every thing should be ready made, and give no trouble to the wearer. Even Milton would be best liked by multitudes, if reduced to the size of a sixpenny song-book, and the History of England to a few penny numbers.

The plea is, that we want information; let the mind be stored with knowledge, and let ignorance be cured by concentrated doses of wisdom: our manhood therefore, as well as our childhood, must have the blessing in the cheapest and most condensed form. But let it not be supposed, that we would plead for extenuated and wire-drawn thought, spread out in diffusive language: we

are not for ample pages with thinness of sentiment and meagreness of idea, nor are we, on the other hand, for a close shaven and curtailed expression, dry and fruitless as chopped sticks, or books stuffed with mere facts and chronologies till they are inanimate as the Guys of November. We are for great minds having their way, and their *own* way; shewing us not only what is the result of their investigations, but the manner of those investigations. We like to see the great artificers at work; to mark how they handled their implements, how they wrought their moral statuary and painting; and have very little taste for chiselling and reducing, till their giants are reduced to pigmies.

We are not aware that any attempt has been made in the present line of literary business, called compression, upon Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, or any of his other works. To abridge the former, indeed, is impracticable, without sacrificing the entire interest; and all the rest are full of delightful quaintnesses, epigrammatic point, and little allegorical coruscations so bright and characteristic, that it would be somewhat of a hopeless task. Yet probably his general writings being less known than his great performance, may be part of the reason; and we earnestly entreat of all the digesters and condensers of literature, that now these productions are becoming better known, they will have the kindness to allow them to stand as they do, in their Saxon and ancestral dress.

The name of Bunyan is no sooner uttered, than the *Pilgrim's Progress* is always and instantly associated with it; for who has not found it the entertainment of his childhood, and the frequent companion of his riper years; what religious man has not been instructed by it, or what irreligious man has not been charmed? Cottages and palaces have alike owned its power; it has carried captive the meanest and the mightiest minds; it has strengthened the weak in faith, and confirmed the strong; it has beguiled the saddest and most solitary hours, given fleetness to the dullest ones, and sunshine even to sick beds and dying moments; its wicket gate, its interpreter's house, its valley of humiliation, its vanity fair, its delectable mountains, its ill-favoured ones and shining ones, its valley of the shadow of death, the separating river, and the golden city, are vivid in the recollections of all, and may be said to have stamped indelible and visible impressions on a nation's mind, on a nation's heart.

It has been justly remarked by a contemporaneous critic, that the characteristic peculiarity of the *Pilgrim's Progress* is, that it is the only work of its kind which possesses a strong human interest. Other allegories only amuse the fancy; the allegory

of Bunyan has been read by many thousands with tears. Perhaps it should have been said, that it is so individualising, and with such a magical skill turns abstractions into realities, and converts fictions into facts, qualities into living, breathing and speaking men and women, and even the land of enchantment itself into plain positive hills and valleys, the terra incognita of Morpheus into the terra firma of man's every day existence; that it amuses and affects at once, so that with the conviction of its visionary dreaminess, it cannot be read without an almost living consciousness of its reality. The same authority remarks, upon quoting Dr. Johnson's declaration, that the *Pilgrim's Progress* was one of the two or three works which he wished longer, that it was no common merit that the illiterate sectary extracted praise like this from the most pedantic of critics and the most bigotted of Tories.

Allegorical writing has been practised from the earliest ages, and few persons have been able to resist its fascinations. Its simplest and most beautiful forms are to be found in the most ancient of all compositions, the books of Scripture; in which, besides parables and shorter pieces, we have a somewhat lengthened specimen in the Song of Solomon. Allegory is an appeal to the imaginative faculty which, as inherent in the human mind, is eager for employment and entertainment. All men feel that they not only need to be enlightened, but allured into knowledge, and most require that the allurements should at least accompany, if it do not precede the illumination. Allegory has, moreover, the advantage of what may be termed an innocent flattery; inducing research not only by the amusement afforded, but by leading the reader to think that he is a discoverer and self instructor. He is both surprised and pleased, so that what in a mere didactic form would become wearisome, by this method is sure to fix continued attention. The memory, too, is permanently impressed with the fanciful images which continually awaken anew into life and reality fading or obliterated truths. So strongly, indeed, has it been felt, that memory requires the stimulus of strange and fantastic combinations, that Von Feinagle and his successors have invented them in infinite variety, in order to reconcile it to the driest parts of knowledge, such as chronology, statistics, and finance.

But amusement itself becomes dull, unless the details be skilfully managed. The literal meaning must neither be too obvious, nor too remote from ordinary perception, to answer the proper purpose. If too literal it becomes insipid; if too far removed from common circumstances or conceptions, the result is indifference. There should be variety without perplexity, and probability without the sacrifice of propriety, in the fictitious

colouring; though we know it we must be made to love the delusion, and extract from it both gratification and wisdom. It may thus be made to correct our follies and instruct our minds. The perfection of the art is seen when, though the subject be repulsive and the instruction disliked, we are compelled to receive it by the irresistible force and beauty of the method adopted for its communication. Then is the triumph, when we sit down to be amused, and rise up improved.

All these remarks are applicable to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which almost every where displays in remarkable union a vigorous fancy and a sound judgment. Many peccadillos of incongruity might be detected by the severity of criticism, but they no more affect the general consistency of the tale, than the irregularities upon the earth's surface destroy its rotundity. This may in some measure account for its extensive and enduring popularity; but it contains many other elements of success. It is distinguished by an inimitable simplicity of language; quaint indeed, but never vulgar, possessing a plainness and perspicuity that cannot fail to make it forcible. If there were art in it, the art is according to the ancient requisition, most entirely concealed; but we take it to be nature, as if the ideas would of necessity run into the words, and in spite of effort, or in utter negligence, assume the stamp of originality. Its close resemblance to life, must also have conduced to its early influence, and its subsequently wide circulation. The moment the notion is suggested, every man perceives how true it is, with regard to his present condition, that he is on a journey; and a certain sense of reality in the representation is at once superinduced, however diverse from our individual experience the particulars may seem. Apart from whence we came or whither we are going, this comes home to every man's business and bosom; and when instead of mere abstraction, the mental or moral qualities are turned into living, walking, and talking men and women, the reader finds himself as in an actually peopled world, in company with a *bonâ fide* traveller. This allegorizing strain, it is true, might be utterly vapid and without impression, as it has often been in other hands, were it not for the charm of consistency, as before observed, by which the whole drama is at once converted into reality. There are, moreover, in various parts of the narrative, traces of political fitness in the representation to the times in which Bunyan lived, and the circumstances in which he was placed, which were calculated to give it an immediate currency among the people, for every one must see that many of its graphic delineations were all but literal facts, by which they possessed historic value, as well as local attraction. Supposing all the excellencies to which we have adverted, and

others might have been noticed, we cannot help thinking that the sublimity of Bunyan's subject has served to impart unwonted interest and power to his production. A certain air of grandeur and mystery is thrown around the path of the pilgrim by the general relation of the whole to religion, and to the termination of his progress. His conversations and his conflicts involve questions of the deepest interest in regard to beings struggling for immortality; and principles are developed which concern the well being of man as a passenger through time, and a candidate for eternity. The tale indeed, is delightful; but the essence and staple of the volume is truth, and truth the most important. It belongs to our rational nature, our condition in this world, and our destiny in another. It possesses, therefore, a permanent interest, because it is at once sublime in its aim, and of universal application. It is not the tale of *the times*, but of *all times* and of *all ages*.

The Pilgrim's Progress was one of the most natural and spontaneous efforts of genius the world ever saw. It was not written for money, or for fame, or in consequence of the persuasive solicitations of others; but welled up from the deep fountains of the author's own mind, and, in finding an outlet, flowed on without reserve and without ceasing. He could not have written it without genius, and genius of the first order; nor *with* genius without piety. The whole of his Christian experience, which was almost—perhaps entirely—unparalleled in the breadth and profundity of it, furnished the basis of this, as well as other productions. The workings of his inmost soul are rendered visible in his 'Grace Abounding;' and we distinctly see the several elements of thought combining and condensing into compact forms of energy which supplied ample materials for the great work, and imparted a character of truth to his delectable fiction. The 'Grace Abounding' seems a kind of glass case to the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' analogous to that we employ to look through upon a busy tribe of bees, that we may trace their methods of proceeding, and their secret operations in the construction of their inimitable cells. Here we see *how* the sweet honey was made, of which we have such a delicious supply in the Pilgrim's Progress; so that we fully sympathize with Dr. Cheever's remark in the first of his valuable lectures.

'Bunyan's genius I had almost said, was *created* by his piety; the fervour and depth of his religious feelings formed its most important elements of power, and its materials to work upon. His genius also pursued a path dictated by his piety, and one that no other being in the world ever pursued before him. The light that first broke through his darkness was light from heaven. It found him, even that being who wrote the Pilgrim's Progress, coarse, profane, boi-

terous, and almost brutal. It shone upon him, and with a single eye he followed it, till his native City of Destruction could no longer be seen in the distance,—till his moral deformities fell from him, and his garments became purity and light. The Spirit of God was his teacher; the very discipline of his intellect was a spiritual discipline; the conflicts that his soul sustained with the powers of darkness were the very sources of his intellectual strength.'

One is apt to speak and write of Bunyan as if the Pilgrim's Progress were his only production; so great has been its celebrity in comparison with any other efforts of his mind. Yet we must not do him injustice by ascribing an unmeasureable inferiority to his other writings, as though there were little or no genius in them; for in fact most of them have the same characteristic stamp, although allegorizing was his pre-eminent talent. If, instead of giving, for instance, 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' in the form of a dialogue between Mr. Wiseman and Mr. Attentive, he had pursued a similar course with that which has rendered him so illustrious in the Pilgrim's Progress, making it an allegorical representation of the progress of a sinner to perdition, we are persuaded it might have become in his hands clothed with terrific fascination, at once winning, and warning every reader. We should then have had the terrors of the Lord, as well as in the former narrative, a display of his mercies. We regret it the more that his own mind connected the two together, and by an unhappy mistake he determined on this less effective method.

'As I was considering with myself,' says he, 'what I had written concerning the Progress of the Pilgrim from this world to glory; and how it had been acceptable to many in this nation, it came again into my mind to write, as then, of him that was going to heaven, so now of the life and death of the ungodly, and of their travel from this world to hell. The which in this I have done, and have put it as thou seest, under the name and title of Mr. Badman, a name very proper for such a subject; I have also put it in the form of a dialogue, that I might with more ease to myself, and pleasure to the reader, perform the work.'

In both he evidently erred; for nothing can bespeak a readier flow and facility in the production, than his own quaint statements.

'When at the first I took my pen in hand,
Thus for to write, I did not understand
That I at all should make a little book
In such a mode: nay, I had undertook
To make another; which, when almost done,
Before I was aware, I this began.'

* * * * *

‘ It came from mine own heart, so to my head,
And thence into my fingers trickled ;
Thence to my pen, from whence immediately
On paper I did dribble it daintily.’

With regard to ‘ pleasure to the reader,’ it must have been immeasurably greater had he adopted the plan of the Pilgrim’s Progress. Instead of mere conversation as now, in which are many objectionable things, though accompanied with various striking and impressive representations, we might have been delighted by another series of moral paintings, graphically sketched adventures and descriptive scenery, that would have rivalled the former in grandeur and force. In the concluding speech of Mr. Wiseman, after the outwardly quiet death of Mr. Badman had been discussed, and set in its proper light, we have such a picture in prose as the pen of Dantè could not have surpassed in poetry.

‘ Without controversy this is a heavy judgment of God upon wicked men. One goes to hell in peace, another goes to hell in trouble ; one goes to hell, being sent thither by the hand of his companion ; one goes thither with his eyes shut, and another goes thither with his eyes open ; one goes thither roaring, and another goes thither boasting of Heaven and happiness all the way he goes ; one goes thither like Mr. Badman himself, and others go thither as did his brethren. But, above all, Mr. Badman’s death, as to the manner of dying, is the fullest of snares and traps to wicked men ; therefore they that die as he, are the greatest stumble to the world. They go, and go, they go on peaceably from youth to old age, and thence to the grave, and so to hell, without noise : ‘ They go as an ox to the slaughter, and as a fool to the correction of the stocks.’ That is, both senselessly and securely. Oh ! but being come at the gates of hell : Oh ! but when they see those gates set open for them. Oh ! but when they see that that is their home, and that they must go in thither ; then their peace and quietness flies away for ever : then they roar like lions, yell like dragons, howl like dogs, and tremble at their judgment as do the devils themselves. Oh ! when they see they must shoot the gulf and throat of hell ! when they shall see that hell hath shut her ghastly jaws upon them ; when they shall open their eyes and find themselves within the belly and bowels of hell ! Then they will mourn, and weep, and hack, and gnash their teeth for pain !’

In referring to the Life of Mr. Badman, we are reminded of another of Bunyan’s productions of a somewhat analogous character, less known than many of his writings, but replete with instruction and vivid painting. It is entitled, ‘ The World to Come ; or, Visions of Heaven and Hell.’ The genius of the author of the ‘ Pilgrim’s Progress’ shines through many of the representations, and produces a sense of enchantment, as if some mighty magician had waved his wand and transported us into a

new and unearthly state. His description of the first appearance of the celestial messenger who was to guide him to the regions of glory is beautiful:—

‘I went, and sat me down upon a bank. As I sat upon the bank, I was suddenly surrounded with a glorious light, the exceeding brightness whereof was such, as I had never seen anything like it before, this both surprised and amazed me; and whilst I was wondering from whence it came, I saw coming towards me a glorious appearance, representing the person of a man,—but circled round about with lucid beams of inexpressible light and glory, which streamed from him all the way he came; his countenance was very awful, and yet mixed with such an air of sweetness as rendered it extremely pleasing, and gave me some secret hopes he came not to me as an enemy, and yet I knew not how to bear his bright appearance; and yet, endeavouring to stand upon my feet, I soon found I had no more strength in me, and so fell flat down upon my face.’ As he ascended with his glorious conductor, he said—‘I would fain be informed what that dark spot so far below me is; which grew less and less as I was mounted higher and higher, and appears much darker, since I came into this region of light?’

The answer to this question will furnish an illustration of the very impressive and instructive character of the whole narrative, which contrives through the medium of dialogues admirably wrought, between himself and the spirits in heaven and hell, to suggest truths of the most important and practical nature.

‘That little spot, answered my conductor, that now looks so dark and contemptible, is that world of which you were so lately an inhabitant; here you may see how little all that world appears, for a small part of which so many do unweariedly labour, and lay out all their strength, and strive to purchase it. This is that spot of earth that is cantoned and subdivided into so many kingdoms, to purchase one of which so many horrid and base villanies, so many bloody and unnatural murders have been committed; yea, this is that spot of earth, to obtain one small part thereof, so many men have run the hazard of losing; nay, have actually lost their precious and immortal souls; so precious that the Prince of Peace has told us, that though one man should gain the whole, it could not countervail so great a loss. And the great reason of their folly is, because they do not look to things above; for, as you well observed, as you ascend nearer to this region, the world appeared still less and more contemptible; and so it will do to all who can by faith once get their hearts above it. For, could the sons of men below but see the world just as it is, they would not covet it as they now do; but they, alas! are in a state of darkness; and, which is worse, they love to walk therein. For though the Prince of Light came down amongst them and plainly showed them the true light of life (which by his

ministers he still continues) yet they go on in darkness, and will not bring themselves unto the light, because their deeds are evil.'

The 'Holy War,' is the longest and the best of Bunyan's allegories, with the exception of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Had the latter never been published, the former would undoubtedly have given celebrity to its author. It is the 'Pilgrim's Progress' alone that could eclipse the 'Holy War,' just as the beauty of 'Paradise Regained' is lost amidst the splendour of 'Paradise Lost.' In respect to these two performances of the great allegorist, children are no bad judges, for what effectually interests them is a pure impression on the imagination, apart from all theories and rules of art; and both these works possess the rare merit of equally absorbing the attention of the young and the aged, the wise and the unwise. We inquired of a little boy the other day, how he liked the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and he at once expressed the utmost admiration. He was at the moment reading the 'Holy War,' and the question was put as to what he thought of that? His reply was highly in its favour—'Oh! it was uncommonly interesting!' But which do you prefer of the two? 'Why I like them both; but the 'Pilgrim's Progress' best.' The 'Holy War' is perhaps less appreciated in general than it ought to be. It is full of stirring interest. There is a consistency in the whole management of the plot, and the dramatic effect is irresistible. The same skill, with a similar simplicity and power of language is displayed throughout, as in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Passions are converted into persons; and amidst the hurry and confusion of the movements, the consultations and the conflicts, you feel yourself to be a witness, and, in a certain sense, an actor in a real warfare between Shaddai and Diabolus to secure possession of Mansoul, 'the metropolis of the world.' Nothing can be more appropriate and impressive than the closing address of Emmanuel.

Bunyan is too often regarded in the single character of a beautiful allegorist: the truth is, that he was an eminent theologian, and a most powerful preacher. We agree perfectly with Mr. Hamilton on this point—

'Bunyan's theological merits we rank very high. No one can turn over his pages without noticing the abundance of his scriptural quotations; and these quotations no one can examine without perceiving how minutely he had studied, and how deeply he had pondered the word of God. But it is possible to be very *textual*, and yet by no means very *scriptural*. A man may have an exact acquaintance with the literal Bible, and yet entirely miss the great Bible message. He may possess a dexterous command of detached passages and insulated sentences, and yet be entirely ignorant of that

peculiar scheme which forms the great gospel revelation. But this was Bunyan's peculiar excellence. He was even better acquainted with the gospel as the scheme of God, than he was familiar with the Bible text; and the consequence is, that though he is sometimes irrelevant in his references, and fanciful in interpreting particular passages, his doctrine is almost always according to the analogy of faith. The doctrine of a free and instant justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ, none even of the Puritans could state with more Luther-like boldness, nor defend with an affection more worthy of Paul. In his last and best days, Coleridge wrote, 'I know of no book—the Bible excepted, as above all comparison, which I, according to my judgment and experience, could so safely recommend as teaching and enforcing the whole saving truth, according to the mind that was in Christ Jesus, as the *'Pilgrim's Progress.'* It is in my conviction the best *Summa Theologiæ Evangelicæ* ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired.' Without questioning this edict, we should include in the encomium some of his other writings, which possibly Coleridge never saw. Such as the Tracts contained in this volume—(these are, *'The Jerusalem Sinner Saved,' 'The Pharisee and the Publican,' 'The Trinity, and a Christian,' 'The Law and a Christian,' 'Bunyan's Last Sermon,' 'Bunyan's Dying Sayings,'* and *'An Exhortation to Peace and Unity.'*) They exhibit gospel truths in so clear a light, and state them in such a frank and happy tone, 'that he who runs may read;' and he who reads in earnest will rejoice. The Pilgrim is a peerless guide to those who have already passed in at the wicket-gate; but those who are still seeking peace to their troubled souls, will find the best directory in *'The Jerusalem Sinner Saved.'*—p. 30.

The last work mentioned has the character of an enlarged sermon, and no doubt in chief part was delivered from the pulpit. It is solemn, pungent and effective. The plainness, raciness, and purity of the author's style are apparent throughout, and impress us with characteristic force. The very term *'biggest sinner,'* so often repeated, so quaint, yet so Saxon, though discarded in these more elegant times, works mightily upon the fancy, and wins its way to the heart. You see everywhere the peculiarities of the writer; you imagine the vehement urgency of the preacher, and observe gleaming through even the most unadorned passages—the unrivalled allegorist. We cannot forbear introducing a specimen. After adverting to the address of Peter, in which the remission of sins is promised upon repentance; he proceeds—

'This he said to them all, though he knew that they were such sinners. Yea, he said it without the least stick or stop, or pause of spirit, as to whether he had best say so or no. Nay, so far off was Peter from making an objection against one of them, that by a par-

ticular clause in his exhortation, he endeavours, that not one may escape the salvation offered.—‘Repent,’ saith he, ‘and be baptized, every one of you.’ I shut out never a one of you; for I am commanded by my Lord to deal with you, as it were one by one, by the word of his salvation. But why speaks he so particularly? Oh! there were reasons for it. The people with whom the Apostles were now to deal, as they were murderers of our Lord, and to be charged in the general with his blood; so they had their various and particular acts of villainy in the guilt thereof, now lying upon their consciences. And the guilt of these, their various and particular acts of wickedness, could not perhaps be reached to a removal thereof, but by this particular application. Repent, every one of you; be baptized every one of you, in his name, for the remission of sins; and you shall, every one of you, receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’

‘*Object.* But I was one of them that plotted to take away his life. May I be saved by him?’

‘*Peter.* Every one of you.

‘*Object.* But I was one of them that bare false witness against him. Is there grace for me?’

‘*Peter.* For every one of you.

‘*Object.* But I was one of them that cried out, Crucify him, crucify him; and desired that Barabbas the murderer might live, rather than him. What will become of me, think you?’

‘*Peter.* I am to preach repentance and remission of sins, to every one of you, says Peter.

‘*Object.* But I was one of them that did spit in his face, when he stood before his accusers. I also was one that mocked him, when in anguish he hanged bleeding on the tree. Is there room for me?’

‘*Peter.* For every one of you, says Peter.

‘*Object.* But I was one of them that in his extremity said, Give him gall and vinegar to drink. Why may I not expect the same, when anguish and guilt is upon me?’

‘*Peter.* Repent of these your wickednesses and here is remission of sins for every one of you.

‘*Object.* But I railed on him—I reviled him—I hated him—I rejoiced to see him mocked at by others. Can there be hopes for me?’

‘*Peter.* There is for every one, for you—‘Repent and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’ Oh! what a blessed—‘every one of you,’ is here! How willing was Peter, and the Lord Jesus, by his ministry, to catch these murderers with the word of the gospel, that they might be made monuments of the grace of God! How unwilling, I say, was he, that any of these should escape the hand of mercy! Yea, what an amazing wonder it is to think that, above all the world, and above everybody in it, these should have the first offer of mercy! ‘Beginning at Jerusalem.’

Bunyan wrote a book of poems, entitled 'Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things Spiritualized, fitted for the use of Boys and Girls.' Dr. Cheever pronounces this judgment upon them, and their author: 'Some of them are very beautiful, revealing the true poet; passages there are which would not dishonour Chaucer or Shakespere, and which show to what great excellence, as a poet, Bunyan might have attained, had he dedicated himself to the effort. What he wrote, he wrote with the utmost simplicity, and in the same pure, idiomatic language which is so delightful in the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' We have read attentively, and with all the friendly bias which accompanies admiration of the man and the allegorical writer, several of these productions, but we cannot entirely agree with this opinion. Bunyan's rudest rhymes, indeed, have a certain power that makes one forget their faults, great and manifest as they are; but we forget them not because of the poetry, but of the sentiment, the point and the amusing quaintness, which would have been better in his own prose diction. In fact, we admire them in spite of there being no poetry in them. Nevertheless we admit, with Dr. Cheever, in another place, 'In regard to those rude verses which, with such inconceivably bad spelling, and with such cramped and distorted chirography, Bunyan used to write in the margin of his old copy of 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs,' that they do not make upon the mind the impression of that word *doggerel*; the mint out of which they fall is too sacred for that, and the metal, wrought with such extreme rudeness, manifestly too precious.' Certainly, by *doggerel*, we mean a worthlessness, or, at best, a low commonness of sentiment, as well as a mean construction and attempt at what surpasses the writer's power; but Bunyan is not to be included in this condemnation. Had he devoted himself to the art of poetry, we cannot imagine he would have ranked with Shakespere, though we believe that the scintillations of his genius must have been occasionally conspicuous amidst his varied efforts, marking him as deserving an eminent place, but not as ranging with the first or even the second of our dramatists, or of our epic or lyrical composers. His *forte* was undoubtedly prose allegory and energetic appeal.

The times in which Bunyan lived, reckoning from his birth to his death, that is, from A.D. 1628 to A.D. 1688, were distinguished by extraordinary changes, both in the political and ecclesiastical administration of the country. During most of this period it may be said, 'darkness covered the earth, and gross darkness the people.' It resembled, in the whole extent of it, a gloomy, chilly, and miserable day in November, with but one noontide glimmer of sunshine that struggled for an hour between the clouds and amidst the murky atmosphere, render-

ing the traveller still more sensible of his wretched plight. The earlier part of this period was covered with the dismal despotism of the first Charles, whose Star Chamber was the star of worm-wood; its concluding portion was doubly cursed and darkened by the dissoluteness and tyranny of Charles the Second, the most unprincipled of men, and the worst of kings; while, between the two, came the bright moment of the Long Parliament and the Protectorate, when downcast liberty lifted up its head, and for a brief season breathed a purer air.

Never, in the whole history of England, was a baser or more rapid succession of bad laws enacted, than in the reign of Charles II., including the Corporation Act, by which all non-conformists to the Established Church were expelled from civil rights, and precluded from serving their country in its lowest offices,—the Statute against the Society of Friends, which threw four thousand of them into prison, to suffer every indignity and barbarous usage,—the Act of Uniformity in 1662, which revived the penal laws of previous reigns, forcibly suppressing all difference of religious opinion, and imposing upon the conscience, as if of divine authority, the Book of Common Prayer,—the Conventicle Act, two years afterwards, by which, for the purpose of entirely suppressing all such unchristian things as praying and preaching out of the Established Church, it was enacted: ‘That if any person should be present at any assembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England; or if any person shall suffer any such meeting in his house, barn, yard, woods or grounds, they should, for the first and second offence, be thrown into jail or fined, for the third offence be transported for seven years, or fined a hundred pounds, (no mean sum in those days,) and in case of return or escape after such transportation, death, without benefit of clergy’,—the Act, by which all non-conforming ministers were banished, five miles from any city, town or borough that sent members to parliament, and five miles from any place whatsoever, where they had at any time within a number of years past preached,—and, to crown all, the renewal of the Conventicle Act in 1670, with increased severity, when the trial by jury in case of offenders was annulled, persons to be seized wherever they could be found, informers rewarded, no warrant to be reversed on account of any informality in the indictment, and justices who did not execute the law to be punished.’

But whatever detestation may be awakened by these proceedings, is there any cause for wonder at them; or can we refuse to admit that they were the natural results of ignorance, bigotry, and the love of power? It was only carrying out to its

legitimate, we admit extreme,—but, nevertheless, legitimate consequences, the principle assumed in the alliance of Church and State. If it be the right of the chief magistrate to enforce or establish (which latter is a royal or parliamentary enforcement) any particular religion as the religion of a nation, it would be ridiculous to imagine that the State would not or ought not to maintain its right. But the maintenance of right or religion in a State is not its maintenance by reason but by force; the law asks a sword; it argues nothing, but enacts; demanding obedience and punishing the violation of its authority. Either a law ought not to be enacted, or it ought to be enforced. If it be proper to establish religion, it must be proper to sustain the claims of such an establishment, or the State, that is, the government, would display a weakness subversive of order and tending to anarchy. In better times, indeed, than those to which we are referring, the principle of toleration has been adopted; but this is only an additional insult, an apology, or seeming apology, for adherence to flagrant wrong. It is evidently based in the assumption that the governmental power in a nation possesses the right to constitute a religion for the people, which, when regarded in its true light, as infringing upon the sovereignty of Christ in his church, is the basest of all presumptions, and one of the foulest of all crimes; and, consequently, if it has the right to constitute religion, it has the right (and this it assumes) to punish if it please what it must deem wrong doers, as unwilling to submit to its ecclesiastical dictations. Toleration, therefore, is no other than a State proclamation of the condescending kindness of the rulers to allow persons to think and to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, over which it thus assumes supremacy; and to do so as long as they shall see fit to continue the permission; for the permission to do any thing, necessarily implies the power to withhold it, when either an imagined state necessity, or faction, shall demand its discontinuance.

Bunyan was called into action and to suffering just in the inauspicious times to which we have adverted, when the Satanic principle of coercing the consciences of men ‘exalted sat’ on the ‘bad eminence,’ which, through a bigoted priesthood and an unprincipled court, it had attained. He was the first person who was seized upon for nonconformity, in the reign of Charles II., (November 12, 1660;) an event, which, however unwittingly on the part of the persecutor, proved of essential benefit to the Church of God, by not only furnishing a splendid example of the martyr’s spirit, but occasioning the production of writings, and of one preeminently, which is already invested with the glory of innumerable conversions to the truth, and is destined to bless

with its attractive teachings 'the generations to come.' The indictment against Bunyan was—'That John Bunyan, of the town of Bedford, labourer, being a person of such and such conditions, he hath, since such a time, devilishly and maliciously abstained from coming to church to hear divine service, and is a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of Our Sovereign Lord the King.' A part of his examination before justice Keelin, we introduce as truly illustrative of his character and theological skill. After having combated the arguments of the justice about the book of Common Prayer, he added:—

'But yet they that have a mind to use it, they have their liberty; that is, I would not keep it from them, or them from it; but for our parts, we can pray to God without it, for ever blessed be his holy name. With that' says he, 'one of them said, Who is your God, Beelzebub?' Moreover, they often said I was possessed of the spirit of delusion, and of the devil. All which sayings I passed over, the Lord forgive them! And further I said, 'Blessed be the Lord for it; we are encouraged to meet together, and to pray, and exhort one another: for we have had the comfortable presence of God among us, for ever blessed be his holy name.'

'Justice Keelin called this pedlar's French, saying that I must leave off my canting. The Lord open his eyes!

'*Bunyan.* I said that we ought to exhort one another daily, while it is called to-day.

'*Keelin.* Justice Keelin said that I ought not to preach; and asked me where I had my authority?

'*Bunyan.* I said that I would prove that it was lawful for me, and such as I am, to preach the word of God.

'*Keelin.* He said unto me, 'By what Scripture?'

'*Bunyan.* I said, 'By that in the first epistle of Peter, the fourth chapter, the eleventh verse; and Acts, the eighteenth, with other scriptures, which he would not suffer me to mention.'

'*Keelin.* But hold, said he, not so many; which is the first?

'*Bunyan.* I said this; 'As every man hath received the gift, so let him minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God: if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.'

'*Keelin.* He said: 'Let me a little open that scripture to you. As every man hath received the gift; that is,' said he, 'as every man hath received a trade, so let him follow it. If any man hath received a gift of tinkering, as thou hast done, let him follow his tinkering; and so other men their trades, and the divine his calling, &c.'

'*Bunyan.* 'Nay, Sir,' said I, 'but it is most clear the apostle speaks here of preaching the word; if you do but compare both the verses together, the next verse explains this gift what it is;' 'saying, if any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God;' so that it is plain

that the Holy Ghost doth not, in this place, so much exhort to civil callings, as to the exercising of those gifts that we have received from God. I would have gone on, but he would not give me leave.

'*Keelin.* He said 'We might do it in our families, but not otherwise.'

'*Bunyan.* I said 'If it was lawful to do good to some, it was lawful to do good to more. If it was a good duty to exhort our families, it is good to exhort others; but if they hold it a sin to meet together to seek the face of God, and exhort one another to follow Christ, I should sin still, for so we should do.'

'*Keelin.* Then you confess the indictment, do you not?

'*Bunyan.* This I confess, we have had many meetings together, both to pray to God, and to exhort one another, and that we had the sweet comforting presence of the Lord among us, for our encouragement, blessed be his name therefore. I confess myself guilty no otherwise.

'*Keelin.* Then, said he, hear your judgment. You must be had back again to prison, and there lie for three months following; and at three months' end, if you do not submit to go to Church to hear divine service, and leave your preaching, you must be banished the realm; and if, after such a day as shall be appointed you to be gone, you shall be found in this realm, or be found to come over again without special licence from the king, you must stretch by the neck for it, I tell you plainly. And so he bid my jailor have me away.

'*Bunyan.* I told him as to this matter I was at a point with him; for if I was out of prison to-day, I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God.'

Poor Mr. Keelin; thou hast acquired most unenviable notoriety by this examination of the tinker of Elstow! Thou art doomed to everlasting fame by the labours of that day, which ranks thee with the ignorant, the bigotted, the time-serving, the mean-spirited persecutors of our race, who have gone down to the grave with the blood of souls upon them, having proudly exercised their 'little brief authority' against the servants of God!

It would not, however, be just to the memory of this examining magistrate to represent him as a man of extraordinary worthlessness and bigotry. His office rendered him prominent; but others participated fully in his sentiments and spirit. He was, in fact, but the representative of a class; it might almost be said of the whole class of the magistracy of that day. One and all were engaged in the ignoble work of suppressing the irregularities of Puritanism, that is, the teaching of religion out of the precincts of the national establishment, the daring adventurousness of men who aspired to imitate Christ and his apostles in preaching without a mitre, praying

without a prayer-book,—on the shore, in the village, or by the mountain side. Nor must we cease to deplore that, though the general cultivation and advancing knowledge of the present age, which has contributed to a better conception of the rights of conscience, have thinned their ranks, yet the genus of nonconformist-hating magistrates is by no means extinct, whose petty tyrannies and exactions identify them as the true descendants of the Keelins of a former age. If they were now supported, instead of being restrained by public opinion, and had the power, none can doubt they would again cite the saints before their unrighteous tribunals, brow-beat them for their piety, and imprison them for their conscientiousness.

But the evil lies deeper than the men. Their system made them what they were, and their system has perpetuated their generation. The union of the Church and State has called them into existence, and made them what they ever have been. It is the mother and the nurse of these corruptions, and detestable malignities. In the Church of Rome, and in the Church of England, and in every other national church, men are born and bred to the dislike and denunciation of heretics. Under the worst forms of the apostacy they burn them; under its milder modifications they injuriously treat and persecute them. Those who are allied to hierarchies and sworn to their support; who are paid in pounds or in honour for giving that support, must and will be consistently wrong; true to their masters and false to their God.

The spirit which glowed in the bosoms of the apostles when they declared, 'We ought to obey God rather than man,' and which animated the zeal of Paul when before Felix, he witnessed a good confession, reasoning of righteousness and judgment to come, seems to have passed like a heavenly light along the bright succession of saints and martyrs, till it caught the mind of Bunyan, and elicited the memorable declaration with which he closed his examination—'If I was out of the prison to day, I would preach the gospel again to-morrow, by the help of God.' This was not surpassed by the celebrated defiance of Luther, 'If there were as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, I would go to Worms.' In times of comparative peace and freedom it is not so difficult to avow our principles, albeit no little moral courage is requisite when that avowal is met by the coldness of friends: but the great test is when suffering and death stand across the path and await their victim. It is not when nature is callous, but when its most sensitive instincts are all alive to pain, privation, and the anguish of breaking ties and violated affections that the triumph is seen; and when the hero by self-denial, brave maintenance of truth,

though it be contemned and hunted from the earth, and by an assurance that all that renders life most dear is to be forfeited, conquers himself, and becomes a willing sacrifice. These are specimens of moral grandeur which the page of scriptural and ecclesiastical history alone can furnish, which time cannot destroy, and monuments cannot honour.

It remains only to say a few words on the works, whose titles are given as the heading of this article. The lectures of Dr. Cheever are an importation from the United States, and are well worthy of republication here. They are perhaps too elaborate, and too ornate; but we are much pleased with them as a whole, and consider them a very useful commentary on the chef d'œuvre of Bunyan.

The second of these publications constitutes the first volume in a projected series of the works of English Puritan Divines. The editor has rightly judged that, although the great fame of Bunyan is built on his genius as the allegorist of the Christian character and life; still, viewed more strictly as a theologian, his works place him very high even among the Puritan divines. To us it appears that the tractates are judiciously selected, and furnish a fair specimen of his merits.

The publisher intends to issue a series of Nonconformist literature; each volume being introduced by an essay from some distinguished writer. In this design we wish him success, and an ample repayment. He has begun with the right author; the author who always has, and always will interest readers of every class. Mr. J. Hamilton has given copious extracts from Bunyan's own portraiture of his religious character, and then closes with a rapid sketch of the *man*, the *theologian*, and the *author*; which is very neatly executed, but is rather too redundant in rhetorical matter. In all his writings there are many beauties of this kind, but he requires to walk with some caution in so flowery a field, lest excess should urge him into sin. His imagination collects abundant honey, but it is possible to have too much of it. We cannot however, refuse him the meed of high commendation, as an attractive and very useful writer.

Art. II. *The Tiara and the Turban ; or, Impressions and Observations on Character within the dominions of the Pope and the Sultan* By S. S. Hill, Esq. In 2 vols. London: Madden and Malcolm.

GEORGE CRUICKSHANK, in one of the later numbers of his Table Book, has depicted an object familiar to every traveller in search of the picturesque. A burly, substantial mortal, is represented with agony stamped upon his brow—the express image of sea-sickness and despair, and at the bottom we are told the unfortunate wight is a very good man, but a very bad sailor. Mr. Hill, we are inclined to believe, is a very good sailor: for aught we know to the contrary he may be a very good man; but he certainly is a very bad writer, and has published one of the most uninteresting books that we ever remember to have read. From a most mysterious introduction, we learn that he had no vulgar end in view, that he belongs not to that class who roam gladly from land to land merely to gratify an idle curiosity, or to that other class who travel to acquire a knowledge of the arts and politics of other climes, but that his is that

‘Third stage in men’s lives, when not the wonders of the world abroad, nor the desire of knowledge, is able to engage us to undertake long and fatiguing journeys; and he who should at this time engage in travelling will usually be one of the exceptions, by constitutional adaptation—or through accident, which it has been above stated, are to be found in the several climates which we observe in the world. And the traveller of this class, though he might have no object that should be paramount to his own accommodation; and though he should receive less gratification, than a traveller of the first of the classes above mentioned, or acquire less knowledge than one of the other class, he should be, at least, able to exercise freer thought concerning what should seem to him to be erroneous or detestable in actions or talents, of which every corner of the world affords sufficient examples; or concerning what should be the more worthy of approval, of all that may fall under his observation.’—Vol. i. pp. 4, 5.

In this manner Mr. Hill discourses through two tedious octavos. His style is unnatural and involved. Like the weary knife-grinder, ‘story he has none to tell us,’—he travels in lands of which we can never hear too much; but to narrate is not the object of his journey, and, consequently, the information communicated is of the most meagre and unsatisfactory character, and, by way of compensation for our disappointment, we have a long dissertation, the end of which is to teach how desirable the Koran is, and how great is Mahomet.

Mr. Hill leaves Paris for Strasburg, whence, after just giving himself time to visit the cathedral, he started for Basle. Of Switzerland he saw and says but little. His notions of humanity are shocked by watching some women from the mountains tearing the skins off the living frogs, that the purchaser might fry them alive. He describes the scene plainly enough, any one can understand it. The following, however, is of a different character: we give it, as our author is constantly bewildering us with similar inexplicable passages.

‘But be this as it may, the feelings of this man should not surely be envied, who could stand unmoved watching one of the opposite sex, occupied in skinning the familiar animal that wakes the morning with its high-sounding and shrill notes when the day is propitious, and the elements are at rest.’—*ib.* p. 54.

What can be more vague and unmeaning than such language. It is a style of writing however in which our author is eminently successful.

Descending the Alps on the Italian side, the traveller seems transported from the regions of eternal winter, into the bosom of a land of perpetual spring; but the more plentiful the bounty of heaven, the more indolent is man. There is nothing but beggary and wretchedness.

‘You are presented with hovels, at the doors of ever one in three of which sit dirty women shamelessly occupied in picking the disgusting vermin, with which their persons abound, from their half-naked children’s heads; while the fields present everywhere abundance of extraneous and wild vegetation, or contain half cultivated, half-wild samples of the most precious fruits of the fertile earth.’—*ib.* p. 60.

The first considerable town at which Mr. Hill arrives is Bergamo, the ancient Bergamono. It is fortified, and contains a population of 10,000 inhabitants. Its principal attraction is an annual fair, which lasts eight days, but which our author was too late to see. Before leaving Bergamo he meets with ‘a little misadventure;’ but having thus excited our curiosity, he tells us it is of ‘too trivial a character to particularize,’ and we are therefore left in the dark. The information succeeding, may be new to some of our readers.

‘The popular method of keeping time in Italy, even in the nineteenth century, is in commencing the day at sunset, at which time the twenty-four hours begin. Thus one hour after sunset is one o’clock, two hours after sun-setting two o’clock; from which it is evident, that in order to a clock giving the correct time, it must be altered daily; seeing if we go to mathematical nicety, that two revolutions of the sun, or more properly of the earth, on its axis, within

six months of each other, are never precisely equal in length. The alteration must generally too, be made at a rough guess, unless we suppose the great orb is actually seen to drop into the sea; and that every one has moreover an acquaintance with the laws which govern the refraction of the rays of light, or at least their particular effects at that time, as well as the means of making a calculation of the height at which we may happen to stand above the sea at the time of the setting; and these suppositions it would be absurd to apply to the great body of the people.'—ib. pp. 67, 8.

In the direct route between the larger towns, and at the principal hotels, this barbarous mode of measuring time has been discontinued, and the one we use ourselves, called French time, has been adopted.

Mr. Hill next proceeds to Verona. At this time it has a population of 56,000 inhabitants, and has more of gaiety and life than most of the Italian towns; but we have nothing to detain us. One traveller does little more than chronicle names with which we are familiar. As he floats in his gondola by the marble halls and deserted palaces of Venice, he involuntarily becomes interesting and eloquent, but he soon relapses, and 'Richard's himself again.' He crosses the Po, and enters the Papal States at Francolino: here he is detained, owing to some informality in his passport. In going to the inn, he passed through a court-yard full of live stock. So powerfully is Mr. Hill affected, that it reminds him of the millennium. In his own inimitable style we are told

'Oxen, hogs, sheep, horses, fowls, donkeys, goats, were all dwelling together in the utmost harmony, and yet not through necessity; for the way was open, and they all walked in and out without seeming more to regard the majestic figure of their superior in the scale of creation whom they met, than they did that of any of their brute equals. *The Millennium should scarcely exhibit a more peaceful scene.*'—ib. p. 121.

Our traveller at length reaches Rome. Here he enters rather more into detail, but it is little more than the description of the Guide Book expanded. He witnesses the ceremony of nun-making, and the fair victim is of course one of the loveliest women he has ever beheld. At the Sancta Scala, or holy steps, a few young women are doing penance. He tells us he never saw in so small a number of the younger sort of the opposite sex, so large a proportion of beauty before. Woman is decidedly Mr. Hill's weakness. When he meets one she is invariably, as Mr. Coleridge would have said, 'beautiful exceedingly.' A certain Romish priest takes him into society, not, we should imagine of the most select order, and he again meets the loveliest of all the girls he had seen in Italy. After the intro-

duction, we were certainly not prepared for the extraordinary sensibility displayed on this point. As an illustration of the priestcraft prevalent in this city of religious imposture, Mr. Hill tells us of two criminals—one of whom was committed for murder, the other for sacrilege. The murderer dies, and eternal life is promised; but for him who committed sacrilege, there was no hope, either in this world or the next.

‘ ‘But I was in want, and the evil spirit tempted me.’

‘ ‘It is no extenuation, and all prayers are idle. The vessel was consecrated. It was the property of God himself.’

‘ ‘But he owns the whole earth.’

‘ ‘It was sacred to his worship.’

‘ ‘Is one substance more precious than another, in the eyes of Him who made the whole?’

‘ ‘There is no pardon here, nor hereafter.’

‘ ‘The sentence is pronounced. The blood shed on Mount Calvary, hath not triumphed over the angel of darkness; his repentance is in vain.’—ib. p. 262.

At Naples, Mr. Hill seeks for a family in which he can become an inmate for the winter. He makes many inquiries after a suitable residence. Let us follow him in one of his visits. After threading his way through the difficulties and dangers of the lower floor, which, according to Neapolitan custom, is a stable, and that by no means of the cleanest description, he reached the staircase, which was perfectly dark.

‘ We came, however, to the proper landing of the second floor, where a little lamp gave us just light enough to observe that there was a hole at one corner of the pavement into which all the filth of that story was emptied, which it was necessary to avoid. We now came to the third floor, and here there was an aperture without a window, which looked into so narrow a space, and was still so far from the top, that a very little day light appeared; not more than enough to enable us to avoid stepping into the receptacles of filth. At the fourth floor things appeared to improve. The fifth was better still; and the sixth the best. Here, as on the landings which we saw below, there were two doors, and each had a string hanging from a hole. We rang a bell, and an old woman whom I took for a cook, put her head out of a glassless aperture, a half-story still above us, and uttered a most piercing shriek; then spoke a few words in the Neapolitan dialect, after which both my guide and the old woman broke into a fit of loud and immoderate laughing; and when I asked the binder what could be the meaning of what passed, he observed, that it was only the accustomed greeting of the country, which we had before heard was sometimes mistaken by foreigners for mere merriment, and then added, ‘Perhaps, *Il Signore* has not yet been in the market square?’ I had been, indeed, at the entrance of this place, for the

exchange of commodities of all kinds ; but the noise, the confusion, and the filth which it exhibited, arrested any further progress for the present.

'After a short parleying, the lady of the house made her appearance—

'She bore in her hand a small lamp, nearly of the form of those of the ancients now found in Pompeii ; and she conducted us through a long corridor to a moderate sized apartment, which had a window through which light enough entered to enable us to dispense with that of the lamp ; the room was in the utmost confusion. There was a chest of drawers with every drawer open ; a round table in the middle loaded with clothes ; and the walls were ornamented with a number of prints of the good saints and martyrs.

'The shrieking and laughing had somewhat subsided as we entered this apartment ; and as soon as the visitors, at the command of the hostess, were seated, the lady dropped squat into a broad-armed chair, and the most gracious compliments passed between the two Neapolitans, during which I had time to make a few observations upon the person of the gentle lady. She was uncommonly fat, and had, perhaps, passed her fiftieth year, and upon a round head she wore an exuberance of black hair, which, though a large comb adorned it, did not appear to have been for many a year dressed. Her eyes were jet black and full ; and her features generally not disagreeable. Several handkerchiefs of various colours were twisted and hung loosely about her neck, the yellow prevailing ; but in spite of her complexion, where her skin appeared, it was visibly dirty. She wore a striped gown which hung loosely from the shoulders, and the sleeves of which were tight about her fat arms, and she had on dirty white stockings, with what had been slippers, but of which scarce enough remained to attach them to the feet.

'Compliments having ceased, a colloquy followed, the brief report of which will serve the account of this insignificant adventure.

"And now for the business which brought us here," said the honest bookbinder—"this foreign gentleman."

'And here I confess I expected the glance of the lady, whose eye I had not yet met ; but she did not favour me with a look.

"This foreign gentleman, wishes to place himself in an Italian family, for a part or the whole of the winter.

'At these words the lady raised herself upright in her seat, with her hands upon the arms of the chair, and opened her eyes to their full capacity ; while her countenance expressed what might have been a feeling between consternation and curiosity.

"He is tired of hotels, and does not like the gloom of lodgings."

'The lady's right hand was now raised, with the fingers wide spread, and the palm outwards.

"Can you accommodate him ?"

'Both hands were now raised ; and the head a little turned on one side ; but before an instant had elapsed, she threw herself back in the chair, and opened her eyes to their full capacity, and uttered a

shriek that none but a Neapolitan could have equalled, which was succeeded by a short burst of laughter in which she was now alone. The bookbinder, seemingly not in the least surprised, however, waited without adding a word for a reply to the question he had put. And now the fair Neapolitan, stretching out both arms, and throwing her body forwards, and putting out her feet to the full extent, with the heels to the ground, and the toes pointed upwards, she exclaimed, in the Neapolitan dialect, in which the discourse had commenced—

‘ ‘Signore, have you taken leave of your senses; or forgotten that I have a daughter in the house—a maiden?’ ’

‘ ‘Oh true!’ said the binder, ‘ ‘and the thought might have struck me, had not the gentleman been of a certain age, and of a tranquil disposition.’

‘ And here again I was greatly disappointed, that I had not so much as attracted a glance from the Neapolitan lady.

‘ ‘All that may be true,’ said she, placing her hands upon her breast; then holding out the right, and drawing the tops of the fingers and thumb to a focus; and then placing the points upon the arm of the chair, and leaning her head a little forward with her face slightly turned to the left, in which position she remained an instant still; and then, throwing open her hand as if she loosed a flock of birds from the palm, and placing her hand straight with the chin, something elongated, she added—‘ ‘But you know I have neighbours.’—ib. 269--274.

Not deterred by this specimen of Neapolitan loveliness, Mr. Hill at length enters a family residing at a short distance from Naples, where he remains the winter, eating maccaroni to his heart's content. During his stay here, he became a witness of what he most firmly believes to be a miracle—that is, he saw the frozen or congealed blood of Saint Gennaro, the patron saint of the city, liquify, and become as quick and voluble at the presence of the head of the saint, as when it ran in the veins of the holy man during his life in the flesh. These are Mr. Hill's own words. We are rather more sceptical than our author, though he assures us, ‘the miracle is beyond confutation.’ We are acquainted with many substances, which would liquify when exposed to the heat of a candle, or the warm kisses of fair devotees, in much less time than did the blood of the worthy saint. Vesuvius, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, to which places our attention is next directed, we deem far more worthy of remark than this clever trick played by designing priests.

The climate of Naples is not particularly tempting, and Mr. Hill left it in the middle of February. At Palermo, on a miserable night,—for it rained in torrents, he seeks shelter, and finds it at length in a house of charity; one of the delirious inmates of which pays him a visit, more unexpected than agreeable. At Messina he meets with a priest, who proves himself a fit brother

to the one at Rome, and what otherwise could be expected. At Rome, at Messina, at Oxford, at Ascott, the term denotes a man who knows little of religion, but the form.

After a month's stay in Messina, he hears of a Genoese vessel on the point of sailing for Constantinople. Mr. Hill engages a passage, notwithstanding the earnest warnings of his friend the priest, and of a Sicilian diviner, whom he had met at the coffee-house which he was in the habit of frequenting. At Syra, as the vessel makes a short stay, he disembarks, and hastily visits what remains of Athenian power and splendour. Modern Athens it seems, has little to repay or excite the curiosity of the traveller. 'Our fat contributor' in *Punch*, favoured the public with an account of Otho's palace, which, from Mr. Hill's sketch of that clumsy specimen of architecture, we imagine to be literally correct. However, it matters not much; the splendour of the palace is no sign of the freedom or civilization of the people. Were it so, the autocrat would no longer govern a race of serfs. Our author expatiates at some length on the famed ruins which everywhere met his view; but the information given us is not of a particularly novel character. The date of the erection of the Parthenon, its length and breadth, and such matters, have been told times without number. We needed 'no ghost from the grave to tell us that.' Of such subjects Mr. Hill gives us more than enough, whilst, of what manner of men and women they are whose sires achieved all that was noble and sublime in eloquence, in poetry, in art, we have no account whatever. For all that Mr. Hill says, he might as well have stayed in the city of the dead.

But at length our author reaches the land of the turban; and here we are rather disappointed with the dearth of information. Rambles through narrow streets where nothing is seen; and visits to coffee-houses where nothing is said, are not very interesting to the general reader. His attention, however, is attracted by an incident on which he contrives to hang a world of speculation. A dog with her puppies, is on the point of starvation, and a collection is made for her. We quote Mr. Hill's own words:—

'The collection, in a word, which the charitable old man gathered with so much ease, was for the necessities of one of the canine inhabitants of the city; and as my guide learnt as we passed along, by the remarks which were incidentally made, for an especial case of one of the females of the species, whose lately produced little litter had brought her to the verge of starvation, which would involve half-a-score, at least, of both sexes of her kind in equal perdition, without this timely interference for their preservation.'—Vol. ii.

Such is the fact—the lesson to be learnt is, the superiority of Mussulmen and their religion; but ‘one swallow does not make a summer,’ and this single fact does not at all incline us to believe in Mahomet. In England, from the highest to the lowest, from the gentleman to his groom, humanity towards the lower orders of creation is the rule, and not as Mr. Hill would make it the exception. But that is no test of character. Many of the blood-thirsty heroes of the French revolution were sensitive to an extreme with respect to the happiness of some favourite animal. The story of Sterne, who wept over a dead ass, and left his mother to starve, is familiar to all. The thoughtless women who are met with every day, rolling in their carriages along Regent-street, have generally a curled and scented poodle with them, over whose woes they sorrow, whilst they remain callous when they hear the tale of a victim of the world’s injustice, for whom there remains nought but the work-house, the hulks, or the grave; and the humanity our author admires, is precisely of the same maudlin character—it is the humanity of those who would fatten a dog, and enslave a man. Full of Mr. Hill’s ideas, as to the superiority of the Mussulman’s humanity, we turn to his next page, and find that it contains an account of the great slave bazaar! The delusion vanishes at once. If this be the humanity of the koran, let it perish for ever from the earth.

Mr. Hill devotes much of his last volume to a comparison of the religion of the bible, and that of the koran. We do not blame him for doing so. The right of private judgment which we claim for ourselves, we willingly extend to others; all we ask is, that in the discussion the truth should be fully stated. Mr. Hill takes his idea of Christianity from the mummeries and corruptions of Rome: he should have gone to the fountain head,—‘to the law and to the testimony’ where he would have learnt how spiritual and pure was the religion we believe and profess. It is childish to talk about sincerity. When Galileo taught the true doctrine of the earth’s motion round the sun, it would have been no defence of the opposite to have said, that the believer in it was sincere. Undoubtedly in Mahomedanism there is something of the truth. No downright lie can long be a great national belief. Mr. Hill says, it teaches some truth, and therefore it would be unwise to introduce the whole truth, as contained in the Bible. He might in just the same manner argue, the moon gives some light, and therefore it would be unwise to avail ourselves of the light of the sun. Christianity, he says, would produce such a change that it would be injudicious to introduce it. A change in Turkey would raise her from her degraded position, and would be the salvation of the country. As mere

politicians, we would wish to see the mosque of St. Sophia turned into a Christian house of prayer. We should deem it a bright day when the crescent gave way to the cross. We cannot think so favourably of the religion of the koran as does Mr. Hill; perhaps we have a higher opinion of that mysterious inhabitant of Mecca than he has, but we look upon the religion he propagated, with its low ideas of woman—with its sanction of polygamy and slavery—with its sensual rewards and indulgences, as infinitely beneath the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. Mr. Hill we should conjecture, is no profound theologian, but from Moore he might have learned that—

‘A Turkish heaven ’tis easily made,
’Tis but black eyes and lemonade.’

And yet, professing to be a grave philosophical observer—one who has long outlived the heat and passion of young blood, he would advocate that system which teaches its followers their bliss will be an eternal round of animal indulgence; as if the Bible, with its higher and holier requirements and rewards had never been revealed to man.

We have now done with Mr. Hill. If his work reaches a second edition, we recommend him to revise his style, and to omit much of his matter. On the part of a traveller, pages of ill-reasoned speculation are perfectly gratuitous. Travels, unless notoriously ill-written, can hardly fail to be interesting.

‘’Tis hard to say if greater want of skill
Appear in writing, or in judging ill;
But of the two, less dangerous is the offence,
To tire our patience, than mislead our sense!’

Mr. Hill reads Pope; at any rate he quotes him—let him bear these lines in mind, for, alas! both errors are to be laid at his door.

Art. III. *A Commentary on the Apocalypse.* By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 504 and 504. London: Wiley and Putman, 1845.

THE oldest testimony for the canonical authority and genuineness of the Apocalypse is supposed to be that of Papias. It is only however, from other and much later writers, that we have any notice of Papias in connexion with this point, viz. from Andreas and Arethas, bishops of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in the sixth century. The words of the former are: ‘But we deem it superfluous to speak at length of the divinely-inspired book, to the

credibility of which, the blessed men Gregory the theologian, and Cyril, bear testimony, as also the more ancient Papias, Irenæus, Methodius, and Hippolytus.' The language of Arethas is nearly the same. In the epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons there is a reference to *one* passage in the book, or according to Ruinart and others to *two*. Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho, expressly attributes it to the apostle John. Eusebius informs us that Melito, bishop of Sardis, wrote a book concerning the Revelation of John, and that Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, wrote a treatise against the heresy of Hermogenes, 'in which he alleged many testimonies out of the Revelation of John. According to the same ecclesiastical historian, Apollonius 'alleged testimonies out of the Revelation, and reported how that John raised at Ephesus, by the divine power of God, one that was dead to life again.' Irenæus quotes the book as 'the Revelation of John the disciple of the Lord.' Clement of Alexandria, attributes it to the same author; and Tertullian mentions it as written by the apostle John, the same who wrote the first epistle. Hippolytus received it as the production of the same apostle, and Origen in like manner, specifies the writer as John the son of Zebedee. Dionysius of Alexandria, received the book as written by a person called John, a holy man, endued with the Holy Ghost, although he thinks that it did not proceed from the apostle. It appears to have been admitted as Scripture by Nepos, by Cyprian, Novatus, Lactantius, the latter Arnobius; and by the Manichees, the Donatists, and the Arians. In like manner it was acknowledged as canonical by Athanasius, Epiphanius, Jerome, Rufinus, the third Council of Carthage, Augustine, Didymus, Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, Firmicus Maternus, Hilary of Poitiers, Philaster, Pacian, Ambrose of Milan, Prudentius, Innocent of Rome, Council of Dieppe, Andreas, Arethas, Sulpicius, Severus, Johannes, Damascenus, and Œcumenius. It is in the catalogues of Amphilochius, Dionysius the Areopagite, and in the codex Alexandrinus.

On the other side, it may be said that the opponents of Montanism generally ascribed the book to Cerinthus, thus denying its inspiration and authority. This was the opinion of Caius of Rome. Eusebius speaks in an undecided way respecting the Apocalypse, so that it is difficult to gather his own opinion regarding it. It is probable that he did not believe it to have been written by the apostle John; and besides, he has not quoted it in proof or confirmation of any doctrine, even in cases where it might readily have suggested itself to his mind. That it was not universally received may be inferred from the words: 'Concerning the Apocalypse there are, to this very day, differ-

ent opinions.' According to him some rejected it, others placed it among the books universally received. Epiphanius states, that it was not universally received in his day, instancing the case of the Alogians, who rejected not only it, but all John's writings. Cyril of Jerusalem omits it in his catalogue, and his opinion appears to have been unfavourable. So also Gregory of Nazianzum. It is wanting in the catalogue of the council of Laodicea, in the canon of the Syrian church, and in the Syriac version. Amphilochius bishop of Iconium says, that the book was approved by some, though many pronounced it spurious. Jerome affirms that many Greek churches rejected the book. A passage in Augustine leads to the conclusion that it was not universally received in his time. In regard to the divines of the Antiochenean school there is some difficulty in ascertaining their opinion. Theodore of Mopsuestia, it is probable, did not receive the book. It is somewhat remarkable, that Chrysostom never quotes the Apocalypse, though he had many suitable opportunities of doing so. Wetstein and Schmid, however, refer to several passages in his homilies on Matthew, in which figures and metaphors respecting the future blessedness of Christ's kingdom have been borrowed from the Apocalypse; and Suidas states, that Chrysostom acknowledged the canonicity of John's three epistles and the Revelation. The probability therefore is, that Chrysostom received the book. Theodoret, too, does not cite the book, although he alludes to it three times in his extant works. Severian omits all mention of it. In the ninth century Nicephorus rejected it.

From the preceding summary of authorities for and against the canonical rank and genuineness of this book, it will be seen, that the weight of evidence decidedly preponderates in its favour. The stream of ecclesiastical tradition and patristic learning runs in support of it as divine. Some of the witnesses opposed it in consequence of their zeal against Montanism and Millennarianism, rather than on the ground of impartial inquiry. Hence the rejection of it by the Alogians or Antimontanists, and by Caius. Hence, too, the remarks of Dionysius, denying that the production proceeded from John the apostle, may be in part accounted for. Perhaps Eusebius was influenced by the opinion and arguments of Dionysius, as Lardner conjectures, to which doctrinal prepossessions may be added. It is no proof against the Apocalypse that it is wanting in several catalogues, because the writers may not have intended to give any books, except such as were adapted to public reading in the churches. The Syriac version wants it, but it also wants the second and third epistles of John, with the epistle of Jude. The obscurity of the work, its comparative inutility for public reading, and the opposition

to Montanism which existed, at least in spirit, in the Syrian church, combined to exclude it from the Peshito. Why Ebedjesu omitted it in his catalogue of the canonical writings, received by the Syrian church, it is not easy to explain. Perhaps he made no mention of it because the old Syrian version wanted it. The same reason may serve to account for the silence of Gregory Bar Hebraeus and James of Edessa respecting it. But the weight attaching to the testimony of these three writers is counterbalanced by the authority of Ephrem, who quotes it as canonical, ascribing it to John the divine; from which circumstance, says Asseman, 'it may be seen what was the judgment of the most ancient Syrians relative to the authority of the book in question.' Besides, the inscription of the Syrian version still existing, ascribes the book to John the evangelist. The authority of Clement and Origen is by far the most considerable in the second and third centuries, in favour of the book, not only on account of the learning and critical ability of these writers, but because they took no part in the millennarian and anti-millennarian disputations. They must, therefore, be regarded in the light of impartial and competent witnesses. The millennarians would be naturally inclined to uphold the book as supporting their favourite tenet, while their opponents, for the same reason, would be disposed to reject it.

The result of our examination and comparison of the external evidence is a decision in favour of the canonical authority and genuineness of the work. *Some* doubted or denied its claims in early times; but it was always *generally* received. The current of opinion was clearly on its side. It was *usually* regarded as a part of the New Testament, and quoted as of equal value with the other portions.

II.—In regard to the time when the book was written, it is commonly assumed, that it was written or published A.D. 95, 96, or 97. The reason for assuming this date is the fact of John's banishment to Patmos, which is said to have happened in the latter part of Domitian's reign. Now that emperor died in 96, and his persecution did not commence till near the close of his reign. Thus the composition of the book, or at least its publication, is assigned either to the reign of Domitian or to that of his successor Nerva. It is well attested by antiquity that the apostle was banished to Patmos, and received his revelations there. The ninth verse of the first chapter refers to his exile for the gospel's sake, and accords with the tradition. But antiquity is by no means unanimous in fixing the time of the banishment to the reign of Domitian. Eusebius (in his *Chronicon* and *Ecclesiastical History*) and Jerome, attribute it to Domitian; Epiphanius to Claudius; the Syriac version of the

Apocalypse, the younger Hippolytus, and Theophylact, assign it to Nero; while Tertullian, Clement, and Origen name no emperor. The testimony of Irenaeus is chiefly relied upon as being the earliest which favours the time of Domitian. Speaking of the Apocalypse, that father says: 'It was seen no long time ago, but almost in our own day, at the end of the reign of Domitian.' Some have conjectured that *Domitius* (Nero) and *Domitian* were early interchanged, and that even the testimony of Irenaeus may refer to Nero, by supposing that *Δομετιανοῦ* is an adjective, formed from *Δομετιος*, meaning *belonging to Domitius* or Nero. But this conjecture is utterly improbable. The language of Tertullian, Clement, and Origen, is certainly more appropriate to Nero than to Domitian. Jerome himself, though he adopts the opinion of Eusebius, says in his treatise against Jovinian: 'Tertullian relates that John being cast by Nero's order into a caldron of boiling oil, &c.' Besides, Eusebius, who follows Irenaeus in his Chronicle and Ecclesiastical History, associates the Patmos exile, in his Evangelical Demonstration, with the deaths of Peter and Paul under Nero. It would appear, too, that Arethas dissented from the tradition of Irenaeus and Eusebius, for although, in one place, he seems to follow another opinion, yet he contends that Rev. vii. 1—8, was written at Ephesus *before* the Jewish war. Thus the tradition of the early church with regard to John's banishment is neither definite nor consistent. Hence it is of little value in determining the time when the Apocalypse was written. It is very probable that the tradition was manufactured in different shapes and forms out of the statement in chap. i. 9. The passage furnishes a basis which appears not to have been overlooked. It does not, however, necessarily imply that actual persecution had assailed the apostle, but merely that he suffered for the gospel's sake. Perhaps he retired to the lonely island warned by the signs of the times of impending and fiery opposition to Christianity. Foreseeing the storm that was likely to reach the provinces in its progress from Rome, he prudently fled before it.

Abandoning the uncertain ground of external testimony, let us look if there be any indications in the book itself of the time at which it was written. In the eleventh chapter there are distinct references to the impending destruction of Jerusalem. The city is not spoken of as *already destroyed*, but as speedily to be given up to its enemies. Thus, in the first verse, the seer receives a measuring-reed, with which he is commanded to measure the temple, and the altar, and them that worship therein. This presupposes that the temple was yet standing. In the thirteenth verse of the same chapter the destruction of one part of the city is predicted, obviously implying that the

holy city, i.e., Jerusalem, and the temple, were depicted in the commencement of the chapter as still standing. It is true that the writer might have borrowed a symbolic description from the temple already in ruins, especially if the measurement had been intended to denote the erection of a new temple *instead of* the former; but in the present instance it would have been incongruous to symbolize the *preservation* of the true sanctuary—all that constitutes the essence of acceptable worship—under the figure of a temple in ruins. The holy place yet undestroyed, harmonizes best with the maintenance of God's worship in the midst of opposition. On the whole, we infer from the eleventh chapter thus much, that the Apocalypse was written before the destruction of Jerusalem and of the temple. Another passage, containing a chronological allusion still more definite, is in the seventeenth chapter, tenth verse: 'And there are seven kings: five are fallen, and one is, and the other is not yet come; and when he cometh, he must continue a short space.' The whole chapter sufficiently proves that the Roman emperors are here indicated. The question is, who are the five already dead, succeeded by the one still reigning? According to Lücke and Ewald, the sixth emperor is Galba. Eichhorn and Bleek suppose him to be Vespasian, while Bertholdt and Koehler fix upon Nero. Thus, some reckon the first of the Roman emperors Julius Cæsar; others, Augustus. If we begin with the former, the five are, Julius Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, making the sixth to be Nero, 'the one that is;' but if the series commence with Augustus, the sixth will be Galba. Eichhorn and Bleek think that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius should be omitted from the enumeration in consideration of their brief and tumultuous sovereignty; but the Roman historians uniformly insert them in the lists of Roman emperors, and there is no reason why John should depart from their accustomed method. There is some difficulty in deciding between the other two opinions, because the imperial series in a few writers begins with Augustus, while in the rest, it begins with Julius Cæsar. In support of the former, as the true commencement of the series, Lücke quotes Tacitus, Aurelius Victor, and Sextus Rufus; but the words of the first writer, which alone are of any weight, are somewhat indefinite. In support of the latter, the fourth book of Ezra, Josephus in his Antiquities, Suetonius, the Paschal Chronicle, and Georgius Syncellus, may be adduced. In the fifth book of the Sybilline writings, Julius Cæsar is the first; but in the twelfth book, Augustus. The weight of authority is in favour of Julius Cæsar. The testimony of Josephus is clear and explicit. John, being a Jew, would naturally follow the same reckoning, especially as it was agree-

able to the customary Roman computation, if we may judge from Suetonius. Thus the sixth head is Nero, rather than Galba.

But the words of chap. xvii. 2, seem opposed to this view, no less than those of xvii. 8, and xiii. 3. With regard to the last passage it is far from conclusive, because in it the writer speaks of *what he saw*; and we know that things future were presented to the view of the prophets in their ecstatic state, as *present realities*. But the words of chap. xvii. 8—11, contain an explanation of the mystery relative to the woman and the beast, given to John by an angel. In this passage, therefore, chronological data are appropriately introduced. The heathen Roman empire is individualized in Nero, the first of the Roman emperors who persecuted the Christians. It was currently reported and believed among the Romans, that Nero was not actually dead, but that he was still alive in the East, and would soon return thence to subdue all his enemies, and take possession again of his own kingdom. Suetonius relates that the soothsayers (*mathematici*) had predicted this in the lifetime of Nero, and that the tyrant had been greatly alarmed by it. It is probable that the story was of Jewish origin. The same idea was current among the early Christians, as we learn from the fourth book of the Sybillines. It was generally believed by them that Nero would return from the East as antichrist, immediately before the advent of Christ, make war upon the kingdom of the latter, and suffer signal defeat. Agreeably to this prevalent report concerning Nero, he is represented as one of the seven heads which was apparently dead, but whose deadly wound was healed, so that he appeared alive again, to the surprise of all. He 'is the beast that was, and is not, and shall ascend out of the bottomless pit, and go into perdition.' In consequence of his supposed reappearance, he is 'an eighth, and yet is one of the seven emperors, and goeth into perdition.' Thus the Roman empire, in the person of Nero, is set forth as the representative of heathenism, the church's enemy. In the 8th and 11th verses of the seventeenth chapter, an explanation is given, couched in the language of prevalent report and belief. Nero is described agreeably to the *current tradition*, a tradition which took its rise before his death. The explanation amounts to this: 'The beast which thou sawest is the emperor, of whom it is commonly believed that he shall be assassinated, recover of the wound, go to the east, and return from it to desolate the church, and inflict terrible punishments on his enemies.' Thus xvii. 10, implies, that the visions were *received* by the prophet during the time of Nero. Whether they were *written* immediately after or not, cannot be determined from the passage.

The place at which the book was written may have been Patmos; or Ephesus, after John's return. Some of the fathers seem not to have thought of separating *the seeing* from *the writing* of the visions. Hence Jerome says: 'When Domitian raised a second persecution, fourteen years after the first which was set on foot by Nero, John was banished into the island of Patmos, where he wrote the Apocalypse.' Early tradition assigns the composition to Asia Minor. Little exactness however, need be expected from this department. Bertholdt conceives, that the command given to John to write the visions, and send them to the seven churches of Asia (verse 11), implies that he was not in Asia Minor when they were written. In connexion with this remark it may be observed, that the seven cities are mentioned in the exact order in which they would be visited by one setting out from Patmos. Thus there is a presumption in favour of the island as the spot whence the written visions were sent forth. It is true that the command to commit them to writing, given to John by the angel, may be separated from the actual writing; but it is surely implied in the narrative, that a very short interval occurred between the issuing and the execution of the injunction, during which, no good reason appears for supposing a change of abode on the part of the seer. Lücke appeals to the verb *ἔγενόμην*, in the ninth and tenth verses of the first chapter, for proof that the author was no longer in Patmos. But it was customary for ancient writers, both Greek and Roman, to transport themselves in idea to the time when their composition should be read, and consequently to speak of the actual period of writing as past. On the whole, we incline to think, that the visions were seen and committed to writing in Patmos.

Those who believe that the book was not written till Domitian's reign, adduce the following objections to so early a date as the time of Nero.

1. "It is evident," say L'Enfant and Beausobre, 'from divers places of the Revelation, that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. St. John himself had been banished into Patmos for the testimony of Jesus. The church of Ephesus, or its bishop, is commended for their 'labour and patience,' which seems to imply persecution. This is still more manifest in the words directed to the church of Smyrna, ch. ii. 9: 'I know thy works and tribulation.' For the original word always denotes persecution, in the scriptures of the New Testament: as it is also explained in the following verse. In the thirteenth verse of the same chapter, mention is made of a martyr named Antipas, put to death at Pergamos.—All that has been now observed concerning the persecution, of which mention is made

in the first chapters of the Revelation, cannot relate to the time of Claudius, who did not persecute the Christians, nor to the time of Nero, whose persecution did not reach the provinces. And therefore it must relate to Domitian, according to ecclesiastical tradition."

In order to account for John's banishment to Patmos, it is not necessary to believe, neither do the words of the ninth verse imply, that the spirit of persecution raged at Ephesus. When it was active at Rome, the Christians in the provinces may be supposed to have trembled for their safety. Whatever affected the capital, would naturally affect the distant parts and dependencies of the empire. The verse alluded to may imply no more than that John saw the storm lower; and, warned by the signs of the times, no less than by the Spirit of God, withdrew for a season from the scene of his labours. Or, if a banishment, properly so called, be insisted on as an unavoidable inference from the passage, we may refer to the decree of Claudius, which enjoined all Jews to leave Rome. It is natural to suppose that the prefects and presidents of provinces would act after the manner of their prince. Grotius thinks that the apostle did not suffer this punishment as a Christian, but as a Jew, or rather as the head of a new sect among the Jews, and therefore he was not only sent away, but banished to a desert island. This is certainly possible, for the heathen did not clearly distinguish between Jews and Christians till the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The magistrates looked upon those who worshipped so differently from themselves as disaffected towards their administration, and proceeded in some cases to extreme measures against their persons and property. Hence measures directed against Jews were extended to Christians. Besides, we may reply, in the words of Lardner, 'that the Christian writers who speak of Nero's persecution do in effect or expressly say it was general; that from Rome it spread into the provinces and was authorised by public edicts.' In proof of this, allusion is made to Tertullian, Luctantius, Sulpicius Severus, Orosius, Joseph Scaliger, and Pagi. The expressions of Suetonius, regarding the treatment of the Christians in the same reign, are general, such as, 'The Christians were punished,' including sufferings in the provinces as well as the city.

Thus much we have thought it right to say regarding that part of the argument which affects John himself.

The 'labour and patience' of the church at Ephesus are expressions of a specific character, referring to false apostles, from whom the Christians in that city had to endure much. A painful and constant opposition was required against their efforts. The words addressed to the church at Smyrna: 'Thy works and

tribulation,' unquestionably involve the idea of persecution, but of persecution arising from a particular class of individuals, as the context demonstrates—from opponents of the gospel of Christ, who, professing themselves the friends of the truth, were in reality deceivers and liars. The apostle Paul encountered the frequent antagonism of such persons; they harassed him with unceasing hatred; and some at least of the churches, such as that of Smyrna, suffered from them in like manner. They disturbed the peace and marred the purity of that community. Such persecution is of a kind to harmonise with the time of *any* early Roman emperor. It is not at all necessary to refer it to the reign of Domitian; since it did not arise from heathen potentates, but from professors of religion.

In regard to Antipas, nothing is known. He suffered at Pergamos, but under whom, or in what circumstances, is uncertain. Our hypothesis does not assume as essential to it that he was put to death under Nero. Who shall deny that individual Christians suffered occasionally in the provinces even before the time of Nero?

2. 'It appears from the Revelation, that the Nicolaitans made a sect when this book was written, since they are expressly named; whereas they were only foretold and described in general terms by St. Peter, in his second epistle written after the year sixty; and in St. Jude's, about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by Vespasian.' It is not at all certain that the Nicolaitans made a sect when this book was written, because they are mentioned. The most probable interpretation of the word is that which regards it as *symbolic*, signifying *corrupters of the people*, equivalent to Balaam, in Hebrew. Thus the same class of persons is meant whom Peter describes as 'followers of the way of Balaam.' The Nicolaitans of whom the fathers speak, were a party of Gnostics subsequently formed, whose founder was Nicholas. They were confounded with the Nicolaitans mentioned in the Apocalypse.

3. 'The condition of the seven churches as described in the Apocalypse shews, that they had been planted a considerable time. John reproves faults that do not happen except after a while. The church of Ephesus had left her first love. That of Sardis had a name to live but was dead. The community at Laodicea had fallen into lukewarmness and indifference. St. Paul writing to the church at Ephesus, from Rome, A.D. 61 or 62, instead of reproving their want of love commends their love and faith, ch. i. 15.'

An attentive examination of the language addressed to each will shew its appropriateness to the time of Nero, or soon after. The fact that the church of Ephesus were commended for their

faith and love, about A.D. 61, (Ephes. i. 15), is quite consistent with Rev. ii. 2, 3, while both are in agreement with the reproof that the members had left their first love. In the lapse of a few years, amid trying and difficult circumstances, the ardour of their love had cooled. The case of Sardis and Laodicea was not very dissimilar. The patience for which some are commended, refers mainly, as we have said, to the temptations which they endured from wicked and corrupting teachers, and the difficulties attendant on the faithful exercise of discipline among them. The tribulation of the church at Smyrna had special reference to the blasphemy of Satan's synagogue. Thus there is no valid objection to the opinion, that the book was written in the reign of Nero, A.D. 67.

Pareus seems to have been the first who threw out the idea that the Apocalypse constitutes a dramatic poem. The same opinion was also expressed by Hartwig. The genius of Eichhorn afterwards expanded the suggestion into a theory pervaded by symmetry and beauty; so that the notion of its being a drama is now associated with his name alone. It is needless to enter upon a formal refutation of this sentiment. As developed by Eichhorn, it is entitled to the praise of ingenuity, but little else can be adduced in its favour. Contrary to the analogy of such Old Testament writings, as bear the greatest resemblance to this book, it resolves the greater part of it into sublime scenery and fiction. Something more is intended than a symbolic description of the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and Paganism. There is historic narrative. There are true prophecies, having their accomplishment in distinct events and individuals. The book consists of a prophetic poem. With some exceptions, its diction is the diction of poetry. When judged by the rules of rhetoric, it approaches the form of an epic poem. It is not made up of a series of disjointed visions; it is regular in structure, and highly artificial in arrangement. The parts are disposed in such a manner as to indicate unity. It is easy to see, that the book bears a close analogy to the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, especially those of Daniel. The writer has imitated the utterances of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah. Hence his language is more Hebraistic than that of the New Testament generally. And if his composition resemble in many of its features the inspired productions of a former dispensation, the interpreter of it should be qualified for his task by a familiar acquaintance with the symbols, imagery, diction, and spirit of the prophets and poets belonging to that ancient economy.

The books of the New Testament, like those of the Old, were designed to promote the instruction of men in all ages. They

were adapted to teach, exhort, and reprove all mankind. They do not belong to the class of ephemeral writings that have long since fulfilled the purpose for which they were originally composed. The object of the writers was not merely a local or partial one. If this be true of all parts of the Bible, it is equally true of the Apocalypse.—‘Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy.’ This characteristic is perfectly consistent with the fact, that it arose out of specific circumstances, and was primarily meant to subserve a definite end. When first written, it was destined to meet the peculiar circumstances of the primitive Christians. The times were troublous. Persecution had appeared in various forms. The followers of Christ were exposed to suffering for conscience sake. Their enemies were fierce against them. The humble disciples of the Lamb, comparatively few and feeble, seemed doomed to extinction. Amid such circumstances, the writer of the Apocalypse was prompted by a divine influence to present to them such views as were adapted to encourage them to steadfastness in the faith, to comfort them in the midst of calamity, and to arm them with resolution to endure all the assaults of their foes. Agreeably to this view, exalted honours, glorious rewards, are set before the Christian soldier, who should endure to the end. A crown of victory, the approbation of the Redeemer, everlasting felicity—these are prepared for the patient believer. In connexion with such representations, the final triumph of Christianity, and the Messiah’s peaceful reigning with his saints, form topics on which the writer dwells with emphatic earnestness. The Christians of primitive times may have sorrowfully thought that they should never be able to stand the shock of their assailants, the power and policy of the world being leagued against them; but the statements of John tend to the conclusion, that truth should make progress in the earth; and the church emerging out of all struggles, become stronger and stronger. How emphatically, too, does the writer exhibit the advent of Christ, to deliver his people from their enemies. This occurrence, which he intimates, in no obscure terms, to be at hand, was peculiarly fitted to comfort the oppressed saints under their struggles. If such be the primary and principal aim of the work, we should not look in it for a history of the world’s affairs. It did not comport with the writer’s object to compose a civil history. The genius of Christ’s kingdom is totally different from that of the kingdoms of this world. It advances steadily and silently, independently of, and frequently in opposition to them. Hence the Apocalypse cannot contain a history of the world. It exhibits a history of the church, specially of its early struggles with the powers of darkness, and the malice of superstition,

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This last remark leads to another of chief importance to the interpretation of the book before us, namely, that it principally relates to events past, present, and speedily to happen in connexion with the Christian religion, as viewed from the seer's platform of observation. The glances at the past are brief; references to the circumstances of the church at the time are numerous and diversified; while rapidly coming catastrophes and triumphs are portrayed in full and vivid colours. Trials impending over the church, and judgments over her enemies in the age of the apostle, form the burden of the prophecy. This conclusion is fully sustained both by the prologue and epilogue; although it has been generally overlooked by interpreters. What language can be more explicit than this: 'Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, for the time is at hand.'—'The revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass.'—'He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen, even so, come Lord Jesus.'

The body of the work is contained in chapters iv.—xxii. 6, and is almost entirely a series of symbolic representations. To this is prefixed a prologue, i.—iv. A brief epilogue is appended, xxii. 6,—21.

The prologue is of considerable length, and embraces separate epistles to the seven churches in Asia Minor. John had resided and laboured for a period in the region where these churches were planted. Probably he was personally known to many of the believers of whom they are composed. Now that the other apostles were dispersed or dead, the care of these communities devolved upon himself. As their spiritual superintendent, he naturally felt the more intense and lively interest in their growing prosperity and steadfast principle. The storm of persecution had fallen upon the apostles and believers at Rome, striking fear into their brethren in the remote provinces of the empire. It is highly probable that the Christians in these regions had been already visited with trials.

After the prologue, or introduction, which is peculiarly fitted to admonish and console amid suffering, we come to the body of the work itself, commencing with the fourth chapter. This may be appropriately divided into three parts, namely, (first,) iv.—xi.; (second,) xii.—xix.; (third,) xx.—xxii. 5.

The first part narrates the fate and fortunes of Christ's followers till the destruction of Jerusalem, when *the coming* of the Redeemer took place. Here the triumph of Christianity over Judaism is exhibited, as the concluding portion evinces. The following particulars are comprehended in iv.—xi. A vision of the divine Majesty in heaven worshipped by the whole sentient

creation. An account of the sealed book with seven seals, which none but the Lamb could open; and the praises presented to Him by the celestial inhabitants. The successive opening of the first six seals, in which are symbolized respectively, successful invasion, slaughter, famine, destruction, bloody persecution of the saints, great political catastrophes and revolutions. Before the opening of the seventh seal one hundred and forty-four thousand are sealed or made safe, out of the tribes of Israel; and an innumerable multitude with palms in their hands, are seen before the throne.

After the opening of the seventh seal the catastrophe is delayed by the sounding of seven trumpets, the first six announcing great plagues and disasters preparatory to the judgment. Before the last trumpet sounds, a mighty angel appears with an open book in his hand, announcing that the mystery of God should be finished when the seventh angel should begin to sound. From him the seer receives the little book and is commanded to eat it up, and to prophecy hereafter concerning many peoples, nations, tongues, and kings. After this the interior of the temple with its Jewish worshippers is measured by the prophet, while the outer court is excepted and given up to the heathen to be profaned, for the space of forty-two months. But, notwithstanding the long-suffering mercy of God, the Jews continue to persecute the faithful witnesses, so that they are punished by the fall of a tenth part of the holy city in an earthquake. Hence seven thousand men perish, while the remainder, affrighted, give glory to God. After this the seventh angel sounded; the Lord himself appearing to inflict the final blow on Jerusalem and its inhabitants. The catastrophe takes place, and the heavenly choir give thanks to God for the triumph of Christianity. The temple of God is opened in heaven, so that he is accessible to all, being disclosed to the view of the whole earth as their God, without the intervention of any priest, as in the abrogated economy. Thus the Jewish ritual is done away, the Jews who stood in the way of Christianity are destroyed, and free scope is given to the new religion.

Thus this part of the prophetic book depicts the downfall of Jerusalem, and consequent triumph of Christianity over Judaism. The Son of Man came in fearful majesty, to punish the guilty nation, as had been predicted. Some, indeed, deny the existence of a catastrophe in the eleventh chapter, supposing, that although it should naturally be there, it is procrastinated. It is, indeed, slightly touched upon; but even that may be satisfactorily accounted for. The twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew treats of the same subject, though in much briefer

compass, and may be reckoned the groundwork of this portion of the book, with which it should be carefully compared.

The second division of the Apocalypse, comprehending chapters xii.—xix., depicts the sufferings inflicted on the Christians by the heathen Roman power, and the triumph of the truth over this formidable enemy. The twelfth chapter commences with a description of the Saviour's birth, who is represented as springing from the theocracy or theocratic church. Satan is malignant against him. Cast out of heaven by Michael and the good angels, Satan turns his rage upon the followers of Christ on earth. Thus far there is no account of the Romish persecuting power. It is, therefore, an appropriate inquiry, why John commences with the birth of the Saviour, and Satan's opposition to the early church, reverting to a period prior to that which had been already gone over. Why, it may be asked, does not the seer carry on the series of symbolic predictions from the destruction of the Jewish power? Why does he not commence at the point where he paused in the preceding chapter?

This question is not readily answered. The brief notice of the Saviour's birth, and of Satan's unsuccessful attempt in heaven, and against the Holy Child, is merely introductory to the proper subject. Perhaps John carries back his readers to the origin of Christianity when Satan was peculiarly active, the more naturally to connect that Spirit's malignant opposition, as embodied in the persecuting violence of heathen Rome, with his unceasing attacks on the truth even from the very birth of Christ. This might serve to keep alive in the reader's recollection the memory of Satan's past opposition to religion, and prepare, at the same time, for an easier apprehension of symbols descriptive of additional malevolence on the part of the arch-enemy. Thus the second part properly begins with the thirteenth chapter, the twelfth being simply introductory.

A beast rises out of the sea with seven heads and ten horns. Satan gives it power. The heathen power of Rome, instigated and aided by the devil, was permitted to make war with the saints, and to overcome them. Another beast appears to assist the former, having two horns like a lamb, and speaking as a dragon. The latter symbolises the heathen priests assisting the civil power to crush the Saviour's adherents. This is followed by a vision of the Lamb and the one hundred and forty-four thousand elect standing on Mount Zion. The vision is probably introduced at the present place to sustain and elevate the hopes of the struggling Christians during the dominance of this power. Such as had passed triumphant through their fiery trials sing a new song of victory in the undisturbed possession of everlasting

happiness. Three angels are now introduced, proclaiming the speedy downfall of heathenism, and divine judgments on the persecuting power. The first announces that the everlasting gospel should be preached—the second, that the great city Rome is fallen—the third speaks of tremendous judgments that should befall those who apostatized to heathenism; while, on the other hand, a voice from heaven announces the blessedness of those who die in the Lord. But, although the adversaries of Christianity being impenitent must be destroyed, the crisis is not yet arrived. It is delayed. The Saviour again appears sitting on a white cloud, with a sharp sickle in his hand. Three angels also appear with the same instrument, and the harvest is reaped. The catastrophe rapidly approaches. Seven angels are seen with seven vials, which are successively poured out on the seat of the beast. The first six torment and weaken the Roman heathen power in different ways until it is ready to fall. At last the seventh angel discharges his vial of wrath and heaven resounds with the cry, *it is done!* while voices, thunders, lightnings and a mighty earthquake, conspire to heighten the terror and complete the catastrophe. Rome is divided into three parts; the cities of the heathen fall, the islands flee away, and the mountains subside. Men tormented, blaspheme God. After this, the destruction of the Romish power is described more particularly. The writer enters into detail. An angel takes the prophet to show him more closely the desolation of this enemy. The Roman power, then reigning, is indicated somewhat mysteriously, though in such a way as would be intelligible to the Christians specially addressed by the writer. The persecuting heathen power is embodied and personified in Nero, who, though not named, is yet indicated. He is ‘the beast that was, and is not, and yet is.’ Babylon, or Pagan Rome, being represented as fallen, the few remaining believers are exhorted to come out of her. A mighty angel casts a great stone into the sea, an emblem of the utter destruction of that antichristian power. Heaven resounds with praises. The marriage-supper of the Lamb is announced; and the church is permitted to array herself in fine linen. But the destruction is not yet completed. Another act in the great drama remains. A battle is to be fought with the combined powers of heathenism. The conqueror on the white horse appears again, and an angel calls upon the fowls to come and eat the flesh of the Lord’s enemies, for the victory is certain. Accordingly, the beast and false prophet are taken captive, and cast alive into the lake of fire and brimstone. The congregated hosts are slain by the word of the Redeemer. Such is the second great catastrophe—the fall of the persecuting heathen power—the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

The third leading division of the book extends from chap. xx. to xxii. 6. This is the only portion which stretches into a period far remote from the writer's time. It was annexed apparently for the purpose of completing the delineation of Christ's kingdom, and its chief foes on earth. Though his main design was accomplished in the preceding chapters, John was reluctant, so to speak, to leave the sublime theme, without glancing at distant times, when the triumphs of righteousness should be still more marked and diffusive, when Satan's power should be remarkably restrained, and the last great onset of heathen and antichristian power terminate for ever the church's existence on earth, ushering in the general judgment, the everlasting woe of the wicked, and the glorified state of the righteous. Here the author's sketches are brief and rapid. But when we consider the place in which they are introduced, the inconceivable nature of the happiness referred to, and the tendency of minds most imbued with the spirit of Christianity to attach sensuous ideas to figures descriptive of everlasting misery and endless felicity, their brevity is amply justified. A glorious period now commences, how long after the preceding events is not affirmed. Perhaps a considerable interval may be assumed. Satan is bound, or, in other words, his influences are signally restrained, for the space of a thousand years, throughout the seat of the beast. Christianity is remarkably diffused and prevails in the Roman empire. But at the expiration of the thousand years, Satan is set free, and begins again to practise his deceptions. He incites Gog and Magog to battle. The camp of the saints and the beloved city are invaded by the assembled hosts. But fire from heaven devours the adversaries, while the devil is again taken and cast into the lake of fire. After this but at what interval we know not, comes the general resurrection, the last judgment, and the doom of the wicked. A new heaven and a new earth are prepared for the righteous, in which they shall be perfectly free from sin and corruption. Here the visions terminate, and an epilogue closes up the book.

From this outline it will be seen, that the body of the work consists of three leading divisions, in which are portrayed the proceedings of God towards the Jews; the rise and progress of the Christian church, until, through much struggling, it possessed the Roman empire, partly by converting, and partly destroying the heathen; the millennium, succeeded by the resurrection and judgment, and the glorious felicity of the saints in the heavenly Jerusalem.

In this country little advance has been made in the interpretation of the Apocalypse, since the days of Mede. The mys-

terious disclosures of John have been long wrapped in obscurity. Few possessed of proper qualifications have applied the requisite labour and patience for the purpose of unfolding their meaning. It is high time that such a state of things should cease. The church of God has slumbered long enough over this portion of the Bible. Let her at length awake to its sublime utterances, and discover the lessons they were intended to convey.

The present work of professor Stuart is well adapted to excite the inquiring student to fresh investigations. It opens up a mode of interpreting the Apocalypse almost new to the reader. Few English commentators have trodden in the same exegetical path. Following out the method of investigation opened up by Herder, Eichhorn, Ewald, and Lücke, the learned author has been highly successful in the dark and difficult region through which he has passed. Henceforward this commentary must be a standard book in the estimation of impartial and independent inquirers. There is none in the compass of the English, or even of the German language, that can be compared with it in depth of learning, fundamental research, and general correctness of results. The venerable author has laboured long over it—not in vain. As the last great work which the world may expect from his pen—the legacy he bequeathes to the people of God—we accept it with thankfulness. It is the parting gift of one, who through good report and through bad, has held on his way, maintaining an honourable place among the eminent biblical expositors of the last thirty years. We pronounce no unmeaning or hasty opinion. We had arrived at the same results, as the preceding article will testify. And yet we fear that the religious world will be slow in awarding its meed of approbation to the work before us. The views developed in it are novel in this land, a circumstance sufficient with many to ensure their rejection. They are contrary to old opinions and current prejudices, and therefore by a species of logic not uncommon, they must be *neological*. Above all, they exclude Rome papal from the Apocalypse. That is ‘the unkindest cut of all.’ It will not be readily forgiven. The weapons drawn from the Revelation against Romanism have been wondrously serviceable to theological disputants on the protestant side; and it will be a hard struggle to give up these tried weapons for the sake of others strictly legitimate. But let not the right-minded inquirer fear to follow out truth in all its bearings, wherever he discovers it. It demands and deserves every sacrifice, for its own sake. Let him not be ashamed to adopt whatever commends itself to his best judgment, whether he find it in protestant or papal writers. For ourselves, we have been for some time

convinced that the year-day theory in prophecy is wholly untenable. Setting out from this principle, we endeavoured to obtain a comprehensive view of the Apocalypse—a view, which when subsequently compared with that of the present writer, was discovered to be generally accordant. Unequivocally, therefore, do we set our seal to the correctness of the essential features belonging to the present commentary. It were to be wished, indeed, that the author had studied greater compression. Perhaps, too, he might have omitted, without detriment, the dissertations at the commencement of the first volume relative to apocryphal revelations. The remaining dissertations in the volume are valuable and masterly specimens; while the excursus at the close of the second volume satisfy our desires in regard to a more extended discussion of the difficult topics arising in the body of the commentary. On the whole, this book on the Apocalypse is incomparably the best that has yet appeared. In all the higher qualities which constitute proper commentary, it is pre-eminently abundant. The writer has entered into the spirit of the inspired composition, and shed a welcome light on its dim drapery. Future commentators, grateful for the assistance here afforded, will be stimulated to obtain a clearer insight into the meaning of the prophet, to correct what is erroneous, and to confirm the characteristic outlines of the exposition now submitted to the public.

Art. IV.—*The Fall of Napoleon: An Historical Memoir.* By Lieut.-Col. J. Mitchell, H. P. 3 Vols. London.

WHOEVER has attended to the process by which the counsel on opposite sides of a cause present the same facts through different media, leaving the judge and jury to pick their way to what is in most cases a kind of mean result, will easily recognize a parallel in what takes place in respect of the history of important events, as long as time has not allayed the poignancy of the feelings and interests with which both sides of the question are regarded. But even during this period, the mass of the spectators have a kind of instinct which tells them, like the rustic who attended discussions in Latin in the schools, that extremes are never right, and violence either of praise or blame is almost always in the wrong. Men and their actions are invariably of a mingled yarn. According to the saying attributed to Fox, 'They all do the best they can when they are in, and the worst they can when they are out.' Scarcely any evil springs

from the pure desire of mischief; and the man must have scantily studied human nature, who is quick to ascribe the advent of good, to unmingled efforts of virtue in the actors. Men are born to interests made to their hands; and they ordinarily take the liberty to make the best of them they can. Meanwhile those whose interests happen to be the same, shout 'genius,' and 'hero,' at every instance of success; and those whose interests are opposite, look askance on everything which in their hearts they could wish to have been undone.

Unlimited by any positive boundary as are the possibilities, by which knowledge and talent may be disappointed of success, and ignorance raised to prosperity by the effects of what may be denominated chance, there are still degrees to which men will never admit the operation of these principles. It would be impossible, for instance, to induce any general belief, that Philidor won his games through the intervention of chance working in favour of a most ill-disposed head for chess; or that the mariner who guides his vessel to a hair's-breadth during a shifting storm, is a specimen of what the first landsman who should be put into his place, would do as well if he had only fortune. Men are so well known to do their best to store and acquire skill in the several arts from which they expect comfort or aggrandizement, that to imagine the director of a hundred battles so little improved by practice as that his 'dull mind' should have a difficulty in comprehending that when, for instance, he saw Moscow turning into ashes before him, affairs were going ill with him,—is a demand on the acquiescence of the company, which would not be complied with if the weapons were cricket-balls, and the stake a tavern-dinner. That millions of men should have been filled with the belief, that an individual had done for them what, whether good or evil in itself, called on them to jeopard their lives gladly in his cause;—that this faith should have survived misfortune upon misfortune, and when the object has been for twenty years removed by death, should even yet be half-disposed to rally about everything bearing the name or the appearance of connexion with the original stock;—that this should be, and be all wrong and a mistake, an effusion of reverence for talent which never existed and of gratitude for advantages which anybody else could equally have bestowed;—is what, in the naval metaphor, may be told to the amphibious marines, but will have no chance for acceptance among those whose wits have been sharpened by a more regular apprenticeship to the seamanship of life.

It would be contrary to the objects of this publication, to enter into a lengthened examination of whether Napoleon looked as might be desired of him, when calamity upon calamity was an-

nounced to him in Russia; whether the success at Marengo was owing most to his own arrangements, or to the dogged resolution of the troops and the fortunate arrival of a reinforcement; or whether a movement in *échelons* or a retreat by alternate battalions, would have been most like what would have been seen by an impartial spectator witnessing the exertions of the rugged republicans on that hard-fought day. If Napoleon was not the spring of all or any of the victories of Frenchmen, he did a vastly more difficult thing, in persuading them of it against the fact. When Austrian armies capitulated at Ulm, and Prussian fortresses opened their gates to light cavalry, in the conviction that it was 'in vain to resist Napoleon,' can anybody throw light on the means by which this reputation was compassed, except by some connexion with Xenophon's old rule, that 'as the way to be trusted as a good pilot, is to really be one,' so in politics and war the shortest road to reputation is for a man to be what he would be taken for?

What doubly strengthens the conclusion is, that the French leader had no factitious advantages to begin with, but on the contrary was thrown into the very rush and torrent of competition, when all dams and flood-gates had been just thrown down to put every man upon a footing. A born prince is sure to have credit for merits that he has not, and to find any that he has, nursed into advancement; but what would be his chance if turned out naked to the competition of the world? If any man doubt, let him try.

Now that something like a generation of men has passed between the acts and their reviewers, it is not difficult to trace out a reasonable theory of both the causes and the qualities which led to the general result. A certain mixture of what is denominated chance or fortune, there must have been; particularly in the beginning of the individual's career. An infant notoriety is as easily suppressed by what goes under the name of accident, as an infant personality; and to escape these initiatory risks, is as important in one case as in the other. But to the rise and progress of Napoleon, two things essentially contributed,—the want felt of a man, and his being felt to be the man that suited the want. The French revolution, as most know now, was the outburst of a growing dissatisfaction with the artificial inequalities of society; a phenomenon to which, if not let off by abatements competent to the effect, there is a tendency in all countries where the numerous classes are increasing in knowledge faster than their masters. In France the convulsion was exasperated by the length of time the evil had been growing, and the extent to which the dissatisfaction had been spread. The interference of foreigners acted like water upon the Greek fire, and only made

its violence the greater. The want of France was, first, deliverance from foreigners; and next, security from them for the future; which last was not unnaturally, though beyond certain limits perhaps not correctly, estimated by the extent to which the tables could be turned on the invaders. When the capital of a nation has been attempted by a coalition, as the means of imposing political shackles on the community, a consequence to be calculated on by the concerned, is that if the attempt fails, the nation will go to the capitals of the others in turn if it is able. France felt this longing; and Napoleon gave token of gratifying the desire. The soldier is quick in estimating the talents of his leaders, and attaches himself to the best by a kind of natural attraction. After the death of Turenne, the French soldiers called out, '*Lachez la pie,*' ('Let loose the pied mare,') as intimating that their old commander's horse would show them the way to victory better than his successors; and their posterity in the revolutionary armies evinced equal tact in knowing who led them with effect. And for this also there was a reason; for effect of this kind comes by cause. But all great causes are simple; nothing great is ever produced by a coalition of multitudinous causes, any more than disease is cured by a mixture of the contents of all the phials of the apothecary.

The leading secret of Napoleon's war-craft, consisted in an inversion of the current rules of warfare. He did what Copernicus did with the planetary system,—made what was in the centre and in the circumference change places. The old theory was, that an army which was what was called 'turned,'—that is to say, which had got hostile bodies on its flanks or rear,—was beaten; whence it was concluded, that the good position of forces was to occupy as much as possible of the circumference of the circle, and the fatal one was to be in the centre. That this was so, is proved not only by the practice of war, and by the terms which to unprofessional ears have been made familiar by history; but by books ingeniously written, and issued as authorities for the circulation of the fact. Napoleon was the first to perceive and practically demonstrate, that in this there was a confusion between what is true of masses close at hand, and the same masses at a distance from one another;—that the mistake lay in thinking the consequences were the same, whereas they were opposite. If of two forces of equal numerical strength, one was closely attacked by the other disseminated on its flanks and rear, there was no doubt of the disadvantage to the force so attacked. But if the bodies intending to attack were at the distance of some days' marches from the force to be attacked and from each other, the latter force had always the chance of marching on one of the other bodies with supe-

rior strength, and overwhelming it before it could be succoured by the rest. To this principle, with the various modifications and extensions of which it is capable, may be traced the greatest part of the successes which at one time appeared to chain victory to the standards of the French leader. And it was in proportion as the principle became known, and was either applied in turn or means to counteract it were devised, that its efficacy began to fail. Nevertheless permanent effects were left. As war, according to General Foy's expression, 'is become plebeian by the invention of fire-arms,' so Napoleon's discovery and its consequences have established the security of an interior mass like that presented by the liberal and improved portions of the European continent, against any efforts of the less civilized populations which may tenant the circumference. What grief, that some great accession to human happiness should not have been the more direct result! What sorrow, that a military revolution which changed the face of Europe, should not have been immediately directed to the establishment of some great principle to which man might have looked with gratitude through the ages that were to come!

Not that there was an entire absence of any such principle; but there was not enough, and what there was, was allowed to dwindle and go out, till it was not sufficient to keep up the flame. He *did* establish the equality of the numerous classes in power and talent to their masters all the earth over, and broke down with a vengeance the prejudice that the *sangre azul* ('blue blood') as the Spaniards call the fluid of a different colour from other people's surmised to flow in the veins of aristocracy, was essential to success. But he carried out his principle poorly into its consequences. He sowed the seed, and then set about rooting up the harvest. To great accessory principles he was impervious. What, for instance, might have been the consequences of such a principle as the Freedom of Commerce coming into combination with the intellect of a popular world-governor? But Napoleon was talking nonsense about 'political economy destroying an empire if it were made of granite.' How was it he never talked of military tactics destroying an army if it were made of giants? Was there reason in assuming in one case more than in the other, that the application of the human understanding was to lead to absurdity, or if there was absurdity, there was any thing to do but to demonstrate it? '*Ignorance, sheer ignorance!*' as the great lexicographer said when asked how he came to give a wrong explanation of a term in farriery. The one knew as little of political economy, as the other of the pastern of a horse. The conqueror of Marengo and Austerlitz blundered like a born squire; and as the squires will do, he paid for it.

And this points to the actual sources of Napoleon's fall. He fell because no grand motives were supplied for keeping up what may be called the steam; and because such as was raised—and enormous was the quantity upon the whole—was wastefully applied. Men grew tired of expending their lives by wholesale, for no end but that France should be admitted to have the finest army in the world. While it was for homes and freedom, the case was different; but the impetus from these sources, though it went on long, could not go on for ever. In France in 1814, even the little boys were turning sulky, and vowing they would not be shot like dogs, to please '*cet homme-là*.' There had been an enormous waste, a terrible throwing away of precious material, even the blood and marrow of the citizens. It needed some notable romance to keep up the sacrifices so steadily and so long; and when the sacrifices only increased as the romance grew more distant and indistinct, there can be no wonder that the race was run out at last.

Nothing is so easy as to pick holes in a man's conduct after the event has been unfavourable. But without running much risk, two cases, one of commission and the other of omission, may be specified as having had a powerful influence upon the fall which ensued. The first was the occupation of Spain; the other, the not restoring the independence of Poland. The placing Joseph on the throne of Spain, will be called an unmixed crime by those whose interests were opposed to it; but there was a considerable party among the Spaniards themselves, though certainly not approaching to a majority, who viewed the change in something like the same manner as the English did the revolution which placed a Dutchman on the throne. It may be politic to dwell upon the romance of Spanish resistance, headed by fighting monks, and followed by the acclamations of 'the universal Spanish nation;' but everybody knows that the '*Afrancesados*' were a numerous body, though not a very powerful or energetic one, consisting to a great extent of the same better-informed and middle classes, who afterwards made the resistance to Don Carlos. It is not very 'glorious,' for men to invite a foreigner to seat himself upon their country's throne; but no man can say what bad government may drive him to. The English were driven to it, and prospered. In Spain, the difference of proportions made the difference.

In addition to this it should be remembered, that the Spanish government had been taken in the act of inciting the people to arms against their nominal allies, at the time when the French armies marched against Prussia. The fact is little known or borne in mind; but Colonel Mitchell is not a dubious evidence.

'When, therefore, the French marched against Prussia, the cabinet of Madrid deemed the proper time come to throw off the dishonourable yoke which had so long pressed upon the country. A royal proclamation calling the people to arms had already been issued, when the news of the French victories of Jena and Auerstadt quickly arrested all farther efforts. This attempted shield-raising was not overlooked by Napoleon; and though no enemy was mentioned in the proclamation, he easily saw that it was aimed at himself; and therefore ordered the best Spanish troops to be sent to his assistance in Germany, and imposed other heavy obligations on the government. All were submitted to by the terrified cabinet of Madrid, but this was now too late; and no sooner had the peace of Tilsit given him free hands, than he resolved on some decisive measure respecting the Spanish monarchy.'—*Memoir*, vol. i. p. 106.

'Attempted shield-raising' of this kind, are not apt to be overlooked by anybody; and nothing is more common than for cabinets to be 'terrified,' when they are caught in the experiment and fail. The fact here commemorated by Colonel Mitchell, is sufficient to show, that the occupation of Spain was not the unprovoked piece of melodramatic mischief it may have been represented at Astley's.

The refusal to organize the kingdom of Poland, was evidence of the extent to which the man had departed from the rock whence he was hewn. It was mainly the consequence of his connexion with Austria; and that again was the consequence of his determination to 'sink into a king.' It was a grievous delict; and as fearfully was it paid for.

It is common to say, that Napoleon's ability was less marked in calamity than in success. What man's is not? Military men put small faith in the accounts of extraordinary geniuses, who turn defeat into the means of victory. A failure is always an awful thing; and there is generally very little to be done, but let the enemy tire himself, and begin again. In his operations in Germany after the retreat from Russia, and in those previous to the battle of Waterloo, Napoleon showed that his notions of defence were in making it offensive. At the latter period, he was lost again through his inability to remember his revolutionary origin. A dozen words which should have roused the old republican feeling in his behalf, might have sent fifty thousand national guards into La Vendée, and liberated thirty thousand regulars posted there; an accident capable of having given a different version of the battle. On the whole the great lesson is, that when the people fight, they conquer; and when they do not, rulers must take the consequences.

Of the technicalities scattered through the work, there are not many which can be made interesting to those who are likely

to be readers here. The author's contempt for what he terms the 'button-stick' system, and the rest of the regulations which, as he says, make the life of the soldier a continual martyrdom, will carry with them general approbation. Nobody is the worse for a soldier being clean; and a uniform and facings help to keep him out of mischief. But beyond this, all is 'hay, straw, stubble.' One question of more attractive interest however, is debated. If the author of the 'Memoir' is not misunderstood, he sees a probability of the time returning, when cavalry, the aristocratic arm, shall ride down the plebeian infantry, and neutralize the effects of the invention of gunpowder on popular power. As wonders have been remarked to sink in the grasp of the computist, so also do theories. A statement of arithmetic appears a barrier in the way. An infantry soldier occupies twenty-two inches in breadth, and a horse occupies thirty-six. If the ranks of the infantry are two, as is the least they are ever intended to be, each horseman of the first rank has from three to four musquet balls directed against him, on the supposition that the infantry make only one discharge; and it does not appear that his condition is improved, if there is a second rank of horsemen behind him. And if the infantry form four or six deep against the attack, as is always supposed to be done where surprise does not enter as an element, the chances against each horseman are doubled or trebled. Military reports are uncertain, and often distorted by prejudice in the actors; and it is remarkable that the author's own facts in the aggregate tell against his theory, though he would probably say this was only because things were as they ought not. Let any man ask himself, on which side he would prefer to take his chance; and it is probable he will come to the conclusion, that there will be 'Battles of Drumclog' hereafter if anybody insists upon it, and that there is no danger of the popular arm being systematically ridden down on anything like an equal front to begin with, by all the chivalry of the past or of the future.

The retired and peaceful student may possibly ask, for what then have men in all ages gone to the expense of providing cavalry at more than double the cost of the foot soldier, if these after all are not to be capable of riding down the others in equal numbers, to say nothing of doing it when they are double? Such of them as understood their work, did it not because the thing produced was to be intrinsically and universally superior, but because it was to be of increased use under certain circumstances. There was consequently a use and there was a non-use; and the business of a military statesman, was to hit if he could, the proportion which gave the maximum of result. Some, as the barbarous and nomadic nations, have never hit it; and the

consequence has been that history is full of the beatings they have got from the more civilized pedestrians. The Greeks and Romans cared little for all the cavalry in the universe, considered merely as instruments of combat against infantry; though none have more scientifically noted and laid down the circumstances under which its operations were essential to an army. But they no more thought of creating cavalry with the view to riding down infantry as a general system, than of employing it against stone walls. And it is scarcely to be maintained (though this perhaps is part of the theory questioned) that the horsemen who are to move to the attack without the power of injuring their opponents until actual contact, are not placed under increased disadvantages by the invention of gunpowder. Ask the surgeons, what will be the effects of a thousand musquet balls fired into a body of cavalry, compared with the effects of a thousand *pila*, for which the horseman is probably able to return as good as he receives. But it is conceived that the current of opinion among military men does not lie with the theory of the author of the 'Memoir.' The battle of Waterloo was a crowning evidence of the consequences of underrating the defensive power of the infantry weapon. The boast of the French infantry was that there was no position they could not carry, just as it has been the boast of the English seamen that there was no line they could not break; and it had for half a century been something like an axiom among military men, that everybody that trusted to the defence of positions was beaten. The French tried it, against opponents who gave the intrinsic powers of the infantry weapon fair play; and then the physical effect of the weapon *told*. With certain limitations, the combat might be compared to that of a hundred tigers moving to attack a hundred men armed with Tower musquets. The tigers did what could be done; but they had the worst of it. They were in the main shot to pieces and disorganized, before they got into contact with their enemies; so another time the tigers will go a different way to work. If there should ever be war again on a large scale, the result of Waterloo will alter the conduct of battles. There will be fewer attacks on positions; and positions on the whole, like fortresses, will fall and not rise in military importance, because men will improve in the art of letting them alone.

And this leads to another of the theories of the author of the 'Memoir,' in which it is impossible not to agree with him. If a cat is found posted in a bee-hive, what necessity can there be for proceeding to take her out in front, if the effect of upsetting the intended combination can be produced another way? Is not all reason in favour of operating against the point where the opponent is *not* strong, rather than where he is? It may be quite true, that

if the opponent is discomfited on his strong point, it will produce a marked effect upon him everywhere else. But does this prove that therefore the strong point is to be selected for attack? Is it not the error of the unfortunate political strategists among ourselves who said, 'Attack nothing but the citadel, because when it is carried the rest will fall.' The example cited by the author of the 'Memoir,' is in point; where Marlborough, though he did not escape the error of attacking the village of Blenheim because it was strong,—when foiled there, succeeded in other parts, and then twenty-seven battalions and twelve squadrons in Blenheim laid down their arms. If things could be done twice over, why was the village to be attacked at all? In like manner, why did Napoleon destroy fifteen hundred men in attacking Hougomont, because the English were loop-holed and under cover there? And why, at another period of the day, did he attack the buildings at *La Haie Sainte*? Why not try what might be done where the opponent was *not* covered, and so at all events give a version of the battle for which he was not prepared? And above all, after detaching Grouchy with a view to separate the Prussians from the English, why not make the attack upon the flank which tended to keep them separate and at the same time approximate to Grouchy, and not upon the other? These are points on which it is not easy to make answer, except that the weather was unfavourable to the party which had to move; a reason the more, it might have been thought, why the opponent should not have been attacked in his bee-hive, where he was settled to advantage. It is sometimes difficult to say, whether human design is allowed any influence on human affairs or not.

There would be little use in entering on the objections of the author of the 'Memoir,' to the *Code Napoléon*. The extent of parental authority and testamentary power, the propriety or impropriety of the equal division of property among children, and the classes of society to whom divorce shall be permitted or virtually refused, are all points on which men of strong political feelings in different directions, will interminably disagree. But on one of the author's conclusions, examination at least may be suggested. It is stated (vol. iii. p. 256) that—

'The free towns of Germany, on which it [the *Code Napoléon*] was forced during the period of French supremacy, returned to their ancient form of laws as soon as they were liberated from the yoke of France.'

There may be disputes on terms; but it appears to be in some degree of contradiction to the general spirit of this, that in what are called the Rhenish provinces, which formerly belonged to France

and now to Prussia, the people are understood to have refused to part with the *Code Napoléon*, however disagreeable such a proof of Gallic predilections may be to their existing masters. A man may be worse off than under the *Code Napoléon*; as many a distracted Peter Peebles knows.

If those for whom these observations are meant, find any useful lessons drawn, or feel encouraged to the belief that full as human affairs are of evil, there is still provision that they shall not retrograde; the purpose intended will be fully accomplished.

Art. V. *History of Our Own Times. By the Author of 'The Court and Times of Frederick the Great.'* Vol. I. and II. Colburn, London, 1834 and 1845.

THIS work, of which one volume was published in 1843 and a second just recently, comes down only to the year 1797, and terminates with the Battle of Camperdown. At this period the Reign of Terror in France was ended: Buonaparte had put down the insurrection of the sectionaries with cannon, and by his campaign in Italy had commenced that great and amazing career, which laid all Europe, England excepted, eventually at his feet. The volumes yet to come have, therefore, to narrate the mighty and crowding events of those unexampled years of warfare, which were terminated by the Battle of Waterloo, and the general peace in 1815, and the not less striking and eventful changes of the thirty subsequent years of peace which, especially in this country, have marked the onward progress of social reform and scientific wonder. It is evident that it must yet require a considerable number of volumes to embrace and detail all those years and their developments. Under these circumstances we shall abstain from doing more than endeavouring to give a general idea of the spirit and manner in which the work is executed.

The idea of this 'History of Our Own Times' is excellent. It is evident that for general readers, and for all who are desirous of possessing a clear and continuous narrative of those stirring times, there needs a careful and skilful gleaning of the most essential matter out of the minute details, and the many political disquisitions of the more voluminous histories. For schools, for young people, for all who would arrive at a comprehensive and well-grounded conception of the transactions of the last half century, the most remarkable period of the modern world, such a work is absolutely necessary. Well grounded in the

perspicuous narrative of such a work, they are then better able to comprehend, to lay hold of, and retain the more expansive statements of larger histories; and in most of the qualities that should distinguish such work, we have no hesitation in saying that this history is in successful possession. It is written with remarkable perspicuity, and in general, judgment of the real and relative importance of the circumstances which it deals with. There is a great air of impartiality, wherever foreign facts and personages are concerned; the style is pure and good, and it has a temperate tone that pleases the reader and makes him deliver himself up willingly to the guidance of the author.

But the history has, notwithstanding, one serious defect, and this we must endeavour to make plain, not because we would have the reader to put the work itself aside, for it is well calculated, this failing being once understood, to aid his acquirement of a knowledge of the history of his own times, but to put him on his guard, and thus to enable him to read on in perfect security, having the key to the author's little foible in his hand.

That foible, and we dare say it is a most honest one, in the author, is that of a quiet conservatism which sways him, perhaps unconsciously, in his treatment of our own domestic transactions and personages. There is nothing vehement or rampant about him, he aims at no sophistical eloquence, or fiery declamation which might bring over his readers to his own views of such things, in fact, to the ideas of a political party. But the tendency to such party notions is not the less there, and so gently, and devoid of passion does it reign and run through the narrative, that young and unsuspecting readers might not soon, or perhaps not at all perceive its existence, and thus unawares might receive a distorted impression of things. In short, the author is, perhaps constitutionally, a settled conservative, quiet and amiable as he is. This we shall soon make apparent, and this once apparent, his history may be read with certain advantage, and no great danger.

This tendency is discernable in the tone in which he generally speaks of the leaders of reform. Charles Fox is styled 'the would be champion of liberal sentiments and opinions' vol. i. p. 69. George the III. is lauded in the hackneyed phrase of 'a prince endeared to his people, by his private virtues;' though it is unquestionable that he was a bigamist; and what would be thought of the private virtues of a man in private life who married one wife, and then during her lifetime married a second. If it be scandalous in private life, nay severely amenable to the laws, how much more reprehensible ought it to be in the person of the monarch on whom all eyes are fixed, and who, as the

appointed guardian of the laws, should be the last to set the example of violating them, and especially in the department of domestic morality, on the practice of which this nation so justly prides itself. There is, however, a singular ignorance in our historians on this part of the character of George III., or as singular an attempt to pass him off as much better than he was. In Knight's Pictorial History of England, we are gravely treated to this declaration. 'Though so young, healthy, and robust, and though his predecessors had been so old, he was the first prince of his house to do without a mistress. A few months after his accession he married,' &c. Vol. i. of the Reign of George III. p. 6.

Had this writer never heard of such a person as Hannah Lightfoot, the quakeress? Her history is well-known, most thoroughly authenticated; her children are still living, and well-known too, and till lately, persons were living who were in London, and witnessed the sensation created by her abduction, or her absconding with the prince. We learn from the Beckford Conversations, lately published in the New Monthly Magazine, that she was married to the prince at Kew, by Dr. Wilmot, and that Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was present at the ceremony. What is worse, George carried her off from her friends when she was on the point of marriage with a young man of her own society, and who pursued after them and entreated him in a distraction of distress to give her up, but in vain. With the characteristic obstinacy which afterwards led him to persist in the unconstitutional taxation and coercion of America, till he lost it to this country, he married Hannah Lightfoot, and when he had children by her, coolly abandoned her at the age of twenty-three, and married Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz. Now this fact must be very embarrassing to the laudators of the domestic virtues of George III., and therefore they boldly slide over it. The writer of the Pictorial History must be thrown by it into a particular dilemma. If George III. was the only one of his house, at that time, who had done without a mistress, what was Hannah Lightfoot? She was, in fact, his lawful wife: for there was then no law to prohibit the members of the royal family marrying subjects; it was George himself, taught by the trouble and the crime in which he found himself involved, who, on the plea of his brother of Cumberland's vile deeds, brought forward and passed the Royal Marriage Act.

The domestic history of George III. is one of the most awful that ever befell a monarch. The consequences of his concealment of his first marriage, were terrible to his peace of mind, and to that of more than one of his children, and in this fact

are we to seek for the true causes of the overthrow of his intellect. It is not common that virtuous parents bring up a whole family of licentious profligates, and yet what family ever exhibited such a troop of the most shameless and sensual ones, as that of George III.? He saw his sons seduce and abandon one woman after another, even when, as in the case of Mrs. Jordan, they too had families, and he could not reprimand them, for he knew his own story better than they who now act the historians seem to do. It is high time that history should, however, speak the truth, and the highest praise that can be allowed to George III. is that, having married two wives, and living before the nation as a bigamist, he was at least faithful to one of them; but he set a fatal example to his children, which they only too carefully followed.

As Charles Fox is styled 'the would be champion of liberal sentiments and opinions,' so also, of course, 'the immeasurably superior political sagacity of Burke' over that of Fox is loudly vaunted. This is a favourite but a shallow and untenable theme of the Tories. That Fox, like others, was carried away by a generous enthusiasm for liberty on the outbreak of the French Revolution; that, like other generous and noble-minded men, he gave credit to the fine professions of the revolutionists, and sung their praises in eloquent strains in the House of Commons, is quite true; and it is equally true that Edmund Burke, with a less enthusiastic feeling of this sort, soon saw through the tinsel patriotism of those tigers in human shape. Burke, sooner smelt the smell of blood, and raised the cry of alarm; but in a far truer sense than it can be said of Burke, did Fox, recovering from his delusion, soon demonstrate his immeasurably superior political sagacity. Burke smelt blood, but did not abhor it; he snuffed it up, and as if inspired with a Moloch thirst of it, he

Cried havoc, and let slip the dogs of war.

'Fox,' says this writer, 'lived long enough to perceive the utter fallacy of his own notions, and to witness the fulfilment of almost all the prophetic anticipations of his illustrious master.'

Fox lived long enough to feel astonished at the brutal depravity of those men from whom he had hoped so much better things, in fact, had hoped the commencement of a new and more glorious era. He wept over and deplored the dreadful wound which liberty had received from these false votaries; but with his usual nobility of character, while he fully and freely confessed his disappointment and his sorrow, like a true man he still stood by liberty itself. He did not, like Burke, like Pitt, like Southey, and a thousand others, desert liberty 'at her

utmost need.' He felt that *then*, when she had been so abused, so belied, so stricken to the heart by base traitors and impostors, *then* it was that she had most need that all her genuine friends should rally round her, and support her in the hour of the deepest trial that had befallen her from the foundation of the world. Numbers now were silent who had been loudest in the chaunt of the anticipated triumph of liberty; thousands turned and fled, entering the present ranks of her enemies, like Burke, Pitt, and Southey, but Fox stood firm, and in this trying hour displayed not merely 'an immeasurably superior political sagacity' to Burke, but a far nobler nature. He saw that the betrayal of liberty would be the occasion for the rising and rallying of all her enemies. The old anarchs and monarchs of all Europe would be up to tread out the very last sparks of her sacred fire. He saw that blood and horror would flow from end to end of the so-called civilized world, unless the most strenuous efforts were made by the best minds of Britain, to resist this out-break of the hell of this world in the shape of war and brutal armies. He stood, therefore, in the gap, and denounced the call to war as loudly as Burke cried—'Up England! to arms! keep no measures with the democratic horde who would overturn thrones and ancient constitutions.' Which here, as the events have proved, showed the greater sagacity? Was it he who put the dreadful wheels of war in motion, or he who strove to stay them? Was it he who to put down the bloodshed of one country would involve all the world in it; or he who saw that to interfere with the internal arrangements of another great and independent kingdom was not only an invasion of the plainest rights of man, but was to call all the furies of earth, air, ocean, and the infernal shades, in the shape of mercenary Swiss, slavish Germans, barbarous Russians, and Cossacks, to overrun the face of all the Western World, and commence a scene of destruction to which the wild-beast-quarrel of the French, amongst themselves, was but as a mole-hill to a mountain? The astounding course of the most amazing and terrible wars which ever desolated the earth, has given a fearful answer. To Burke we owe, more than to any other man, the crime and the bloodshed of the great war of upwards of twenty years, in which, so far from putting down the French democrats, *they* put down, insulted and tyrannized over every continental kingdom. To Burke we owe it, that when finding the spirit of Europe was roused to combine against the great French conqueror, but that not until God had smitten him visibly by his own hand, in the pride of his Russian campaign, to Burke, we say, we owe it, when all continental Europe had been humiliated by France in the contest which he called for, and

when millions on millions of lives had been sacrificed to his troops and his 'superior political sagacity,' that we ourselves came out of the contest with the expenditure of *three thousand millions of money*, of which eight hundred millions yet remain unpaid, hanging on our commerce like a millstone, creating corn-laws and a pressure of taxation which falls with a crushing weight on those labouring millions who were not living to enjoy even the syren sound of that eloquence which fired our fathers to the thirst of French blood. Out we say on all such political sagacity as this! The time is come when we must neither sing its praises, nor allow them to be sung without a stern reproof. Reversing the language of our author, we may say that 'Burke lived long enough to have perceived, whether his pride allowed him to do so or not, the utter fallacy of his own notions, and to witness the fulfilment of almost all the prophetic anticipations of his illustrious pupil.' It was to Fox that we owed the most strenuous opposition to that fatal policy which deluged Europe with blood, and the only interval of peace that we enjoyed from 1793 to the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.

Here we come then to the further declaration on our part that the writer of this history does not confine himself to quiet terms of depreciation of the friends of liberty; he has a graver fault, he may state the truth, but he does not state the whole truth of things. Thus, he terms the Dissenters enemies to the church, and propagators of mischievous political doctrines.

'Many men, eminent for rank, talents, and understanding, extolled the French Revolution' (this was so early as 1792) 'without, however, openly disparaging the constitution of their own country. Dr. Price, who was revered as an apostle by the Dissenters, approved the principles of the French Revolution even in their most ruinous consequences to kings and people. Dr. Priestley, a Unitarian minister, celebrated for his chemical discoveries, lent the influence of his name to the same doctrines. A society called the Friends of the Revolution, &c.' vol. ii. p. 3.

This should be 'The Society of the Friends of the People;' not of the Revolution. But he proceeds:

'Some of the principal members, and a large proportion of the general mass of this society, were Dissenters. Dr. Price, who was a very conspicuous member, died in 1791. It included also Drs. Kippis, Rees, and Towers, men whose literary abilities and moral characters, in proportion as they added weight to the association, only gave it so much the more power of doing mischief,' &c. &c.

Who would believe that this *mischievous* society, was actually no other than that which was established merely for Parliamentary Reform in 1791—that society from which we have, as

the first public moving cause, derived the only portion of reform we have yet gained? Who would, if he were not better acquainted with our recent history than this writer would make us, imagine that this mischievous society had at its head, as its originators, almost all those great, yet moderate men, who lived to see the desires of the English public far outgrow those ideas of necessary change which in them this author styles so dangerous? Those men, the founders of this society were—The Earl of Lauderdale, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Kinnaird, Sir Philip Francis, General Lambton, the father of Lord Durham, Whitbread, Tierney, Dudley North, Thomas, afterwards Lord Erskine, Lord John Russell, uncle of the present Lord John, Rogers the poet, Sheridan, Lord Grey, Fox, George Byng, with those Drs. Towers and Kippis, &c. &c. Such are the bugbears of revolutionary crime, with which the writer of the 'History of our Own Times,' classes the Dissenters. They will not be much shocked at the alliance, but the truth of history resents such partial statements.

In the like strain he speaks of the proceedings of the Dissenters leading to the riots of Birmingham in 1791, and the destruction of vast property, including the house and noble library of Dr. Priestley; but he does not tell us that it was the act and instigation of the Tory magistrates and clergy themselves that brought out this brutal mob, with their savage cries of 'Church and the King.' A fact like this, than which there is none better authenticated, or notoriously established, ought not to have been omitted when the Dissenters were accused of practices and principles dangerous to the public peace. In the debates, on the disgraceful event at the time, it was fully proved before the House of Commons, that the magistrates of the town had not only connived at the atrocities which the populace had perpetrated, but had actually instigated them to their commission, and that the clergy themselves had been conspicuous in raising and leading on the ignorant and bestial mob. These charges were supported by six-and-thirty affidavits laid before the House by Whitbread.

When the Dissenters are stigmatized as enemies of the church, it becomes a fair historian, and one who desires to be a sound teacher of the people, to state *why* and *how* they are enemies to it. To do this he has only to revert to the simple fact that the church, as a state machine has, from the very day of her origin, acted the she-wolf to the Dissenters. It was the church which first created dissent by its intolerance of opinion, and then sought to crush it by fire, racks, dungeons, political exclusion, and political plunder, in the shape of tithes, church-rates, Easter dues, &c. The church at one time even prevailed

to have an act passed that no Dissenter should keep a school. They were to be annihilated by abstinence of literary and intellectual food. For this reason the Dissenters are justly hostile to the church, as a *state* church, and not otherwise. This is *why* and *how* the Dissenters are enemies to the church, and this cause ought not to be overlooked by the historian. The same mode of treatment is, however, adopted by our author towards all reformers. This passage occurs in the history of the year 1793.—

‘ Though the political ferment was rapidly subsiding, a considerable agitation still prevailed. In Scotland, public attention was strongly excited by the prosecution of Thomas Muir, a member of the faculty of Advocates, and Fyshe Palmer, a member of the University of Cambridge, acting as Unitarian minister at Dundee. In autumn, 1792, when the political agitation was at its height, the former a man of but moderate abilities, though possessing the faculty of unpremeditated eloquence in an extraordinary degree, collected and harangued numerous assemblages of the common people on the subject of popular reform, which produced an appearance of turbulence and disorder, alarming not only the government, but even persons disposed to favour the political sentiments which he avowed. The latter was found guilty of publishing a political libel, not written by himself, but which he had corrected, and ordered to be printed. Both were sentenced to transportation, Muir for fourteen, Palmer for seven years, and accordingly sent to Botany Bay. The severity of their sentence, though conformable to the practice of the Scottish courts, was censured by many as unreasonable; but it was reserved for the sagacity of a later period to discover that these presented a just claim to the title of political martyrs, and a public monument in the metropolis of the empire.’—Vol. ii. p. 50.

Now, whether they were political martyrs or not, discovered by ‘the sagacity of a later period,’ that is, of a period when the inflamed passions of the day, which witnessed those proceedings, have died out with the parties they agitated, not merely have the inhabitants of the ‘metropolis of the empire’ decided by erecting a monument to these persecuted men, but, at a still later period, that is, at this very time, the inhabitants of the metropolis of that kingdom in which they were condemned, have confirmed that decision by also erecting a monument to their memory there. On the Calton hill, a tower-like testimony to their martyrdom in solid stone now lifts its head. These, it should be remembered, are not the products of the heated feelings of the moment, but of the after calm research and reflection of a period distinguished by a far more matured knowledge of political rights than was possessed by the last age. That they were political martyrs, let their political opinions have been what

they would, is pretty well established by the fact, that neither Muir nor Palmer ever lived to reach their own country again. In fact, the whole of this statement is singularly defective in every way. Besides Muir and Palmer, there were three other persons condemned and transported at the same time, and on the same charges: Skirving, Gerald and Margarott, not one of whom survived to return to their native land except Margarott.

And for what were Muir and Palmer tried, condemned, and transported? By the account in Howell's State Trials we find that the evidence for the prosecution failed entirely to prove any intention on the part of the prisoners, or any society with which they were connected, of having recourse to insurrection, or riot, or any act of violence, much less of seeking for any French assistance.' Muir contended that he advocated only constitutional measures of reform, and had not argued for the destruction of the monarchy; and the very best witness on the part of the crown, the woman-servant that had lived in his father's house, admitted that she had heard him say that 'the constitution of this country was very good, but that many abuses had crept in which required a thorough reform—that he was for a monarchy, under proper restrictions, and a parliament that knew what they were about;—that a republican form was the best, but that a monarchy had been so long established in this country that it would be improper to alter it.'

Now is it for such opinions that men, gentlemen by birth, education, and station, or indeed any man bearing the proud name of Briton, ought to be imprisoned, brow-beaten in the foulest language by barristers and the judges set to try them? The very lord-advocate called Muir, 'that unfortunate wretch at the bar,' 'that demon of mischief,' 'that pest of Scotland,' and the lord-justice clerk on the bench said: 'Let them pack off. A government in every country should be just like a corporation; and in this country it is made up of the landed interest, *which alone has a right to be represented*; as for the rabble who have nothing but personal property, what hold has the country on them? They may pack up all their property on their backs, and leave the country in the twinkling of an eye.' Is it, we ask, for such opinions, and at such brutal hands that honourable men are to be thus treated, condemned to transportation, and thrust into the hold of transport-vessels amongst common thieves and felons; and that an historian of the present day shall sneer at them, as undeserving the name of martyrs? The writer who does this, little understands the sacred task he has undertaken, or the spirit and knowledge which now animates the mass of the people of England. On the contrary, he ought to have told his readers what was the political condition of England at that

period. That the constitution was in reality destroyed by the corrupt selfishness of government. That the popular portion of the constitution was wrested out of the popular hand, and sold to borough-mongers and monopolising aristocrats. That the people were neglected, and left uneducated ; and thus made, to a degree, passive under their sufferings and exactions ; the hand of arbitrary power was stretched out with a brutal violence which now astonishes in the retrospect, to seize and crush the few patriotic spirits who dared to stand forth for the rights of the people. Government, venal judges, ignorant country justices, and hot high-fed clergy were then accustomed to lord it over the multitude with a reckless regard of law or humanity, which would now rouse the whole nation to a terrible state of indignation, were but an instance of it attempted. But it is to the political martyrs of the last age, that we, in a great measure, owe our present more enviable power of public opinion, the greater recognition of our inalienable rights, and we must not suffer the pen of the historic scribe to palter with the holy truth, and sneer away the honourable fame of even the humblest labourer in the great cause of political and social progress.

It may be thought that we have dealt somewhat severely with our author, when we state that after all, the portions of these volumes which contain these misrepresentations are 'few and far between.' That is true ; but where great principles are concerned, and in a matter of such importance as the history of our own times, these cannot be too clearly enunciated, nor mystification of facts too earnestly set right. Moreover, these exceptions are few in these volumes, because the part which our own country plays in the drama of European action, so far as they extend, is comparatively small. The French revolution occupies far the greater portion of them. But as the author advances, this will no longer be the case. More and more, deeper and deeper, will England become implicated in the great strife, and we are therefore anxious to point out to the author the false basis on which he is building. He may make himself quite sure that it is not as he has begun, that the history of modern England is to be written. The rights of the people, their importance in the state, the factitious nature of ranks and titles and castes, all are daily becoming more truly understood, and justly appreciated, and he who will write for futurity ; he who is conscientiously anxious to become a teacher of the young, must arouse himself to cast off old clinging prejudices ; must look truth fully and fairly in the face, and must regard himself as writing not for this or that class, but for the nation, for whom government exists, and whose functions and deeds the general sentiment will more and more oblige it to respect, and

move itself by. That public sentiment is rapidly growing into strength, because the people are better educated and better instructed in true Christian principles, and therefore more solemnly united in denouncing political profligacy, and demanding a closer conformity to the great doctrines of peace, justice, and humanity. The wretched conventionalisms which have enabled governments to represent *themselves* as the real sources of power and honour, and have taught them to wrap themselves in a proud mystery, are every day falling before the progress of knowledge, and the writer who writes to influence his age must strive to be in advance of it, and measure public acts by the eternal standard of truth, as revealed to us in the luminous philosophy of Christ.

Before closing this article we will for a moment draw the attention of the reader to a rather curious coincidence. The French Revolution was ushered in by a fearful agency of the elements. The old corrupt and tyrannic fabric of the French government, which might have gone on for years still fostering the follies and vices of the court, and grinding the faces of the poor, was brought at once to an end for ever, by as awful and manifest an act of Providence as any which is recorded in the sacred writings. It was like another Egyptian plague, when the hail, mingled with fire, smote the crops of the field.

‘ On Sunday, the 13th of July, 1788, about nine in the morning, an awful darkness suddenly overspread a great portion of France. It was succeeded by a tempest unexampled in the temperate climes of Europe. Wind, rain, thunder, seemed to vie in fury; but hail was the principal instrument of devastation. The rich prospect of an early harvest was changed in an hour to the dreary appearance of universal winter. The ground was converted into a morass, the standing corn beaten into a quagmire, the vines and the fruit-trees were broken in pieces, and unmelted hail lay in heaps like rocks of solid ice. The forest trees were unable to withstand the violence of the tempest. The hail consisted of solid, angular lumps of ice, some of them weighing from eight to ten ounces. The country-people, beaten down in the fields on their way to church, and terrified by this concussion of the elements, concluded that the last day had arrived, and lay despairing, half suffocated amidst the water and mud, expecting the immediate dissolution of all things. A tract of sixty square leagues had not a single ear of corn or fruit of any kind left. The Isle of France, in which Paris is situated, and the Orleannois, suffered most; the damage done there amounting, on a moderate estimate, to eighty millions of livres, or between three and four millions sterling. Such a calamity, occurring amidst a general scarcity throughout Europe, and on the eve of a great political revolution, was peculiarly unfortunate: many families found it necessary to contract their expenses, and to discharge their servants, who were thus

left destitute of bread ; added to the public discontents and political dissensions, it produced such an effect on the people in general, that the nation seemed to have changed its character, and, instead of that levity by which it had ever been distinguished, a settled gloom seemed to cloud every face.

‘ This calamity was succeeded by a winter more severe than any that had been known for nearly a century past. All the efforts of benevolence, and the extensive charities of the clergy in particular, could not keep pace with the distress prevailing in the capital, where the immense mass of indigence was swelled by numbers of vagabonds and dissolute persons, without profession and without resources, who thronged thither from all parts of France, eager to join in any tumult, and to profit by any chances.

‘ Nobody took such advantage of these circumstances as the Duke of Orleans, whose extraordinary wealth enabled him to confer benefits equally extraordinary on the lower classes of the people. A thousand humane acts were related of him, all of which, however, were performed with a criminal design. By this means he nevertheless made himself the man of the people ; and this prince, who shortly before was an object of general contempt, was now extolled to the skies, while others, who had done as much in proportion, nay, perhaps more, were scarcely mentioned.

‘ The time now approached for the election of deputies to the states-general. The whole nation was in motion, and in many provinces great agitation prevailed. Men of letters, advocates, tradesmen, assembled either to procure their own election, or to influence that of others : societies, called clubs, were formed, which served to develop the talent of public speaking, but which did infinite mischief. Count Mirabeau, who was rejected by the nobles, and who had displayed eminent ability in a suit with his wife at Aix, was elected a representative of the *tiers état*, whose idol he became. He inveighed with fulminating eloquence against the nobles and the aristocracy, whom he designated as persecutors of the people, and enemies to himself. His speeches re-echoed in the remotest corners of the kingdom, and everywhere awakened a desire to imitate him. Meanwhile the deputies of each estate arrived in the capital, with totally different views of their vocation, and many with diametrically opposite intentions. Some had before their eyes Spartan, others Roman, others, again, English or American institutions—in short, the revolution had arrived.’—vol. i. pp. 61, 62, 63.

Though we fear no revolution at hand in England, who does not here see a striking coincidence of circumstances? Who does not see in the wet season that we have had, and its effect on the crops all over Europe, and especially the singular disease which has shown itself in the potatoe, as it were the hand of Providence, visibly put forth to terminate the reluctant resistance of the aristocracy of this country to allow the people of England to import and eat cheap bread? While the struggle

has been from year to year going on with the selfishness of the landlords, it has become more and more impressed on the public mind that it would require some such manifestations to give a final blow to selfishness. People have said, let but a bad harvest come, and the opposition is at an end. The cry for bread will become the awful cry of a nation, which will startle the monopolists into an earnest terror. The artizan in the cellars of Manchester may get half enough, and crouch on a bag of shavings; the agricultural labourer may starve on his six shillings a week; the whole of Ireland may feed on potatoes, and nothing else; but let a real scarcity come, and the whole empire will then suffer, rich and poor, and gaunt famine will start up in such a shape, that the callous caste of landlords will shrink aghast, and let the floodgates of foreign plenty fly open. And here is the scarcity arrived, and in such a shape, and from such a quarter, as not even the deepest, and the most far-seeing of our political prophets ever for a moment dreamt of. Poor potatoe, the humble half-brother of corn, has become the unexpected agent of the mighty change. With the corn crop deficient all over Europe, and the plague in the potatoe, the rumour is gone forth, and grows daily, that ministers see that they must yield to the power of circumstances, and open the ports without delay. But once open, will the people of England permit them to shut them again? With the terrible chances that this one bad season have opened up before our eyes, are we to allow the same political machinery of injustice and starvation ever again to place us in the same or worse jeopardy? For the sake of the aristocratic rent-roll, for the luxury and the ostentation of the West-end world, shall we again see our labouring population starving, half-fed, half-clothed, cooped in Unions, or driven to the midnight woods on the deadly quest of game, at the muzzle of the gamekeepers' guns? Are we to run the risk of riot, insurrection, and general calamity, or of those fatal panics which spread atrophy and ruin through our commerce—when Providence has once sent us this emphatic warning, this dazzling hand-writing upon the wall? It is not to be believed—the ports once thrown open, must remain open.

But what is no little remarkable, is that not only the potatoe, but Ireland should be made the means of striking this salutary fear into the heart of government. Cobbett used to curse the potatoe, and say, that so far from being a blessing to Ireland, it was its greatest evil. That it enabled the Irish to live, to keep body and soul just together, and thus perpetuated the wretched condition of that country. That, had there been no potatoe there must long ago have been a famine, which would have compelled an instant change of policy towards that country.

But Ireland and the potatoe, bid fair to abolish the detestable corn-law. The potatoe crop might have failed in England, and things have gone on; but its failure in Ireland is the failure of everything. That is the sole food and resource of eight millions of people. They are on the lowest step of existence; they can fall back no further. You might as well rob a man of his skin, as an Irishman of anything, when his potatoes are gone. Thus things—the potatoe having failed in Ireland—come to a stand, and from that oppressed, and abused people, and the humble root of its maintenance, may probably come the deliverance of proud England from the greatest curse which ever befell it—the infamous corn-law.

Art. VI.—*Elements of Mental and Moral Science.* By George Payne, L.L.D. Third edition, enlarged. London: Gladding.

WE are gratified to observe any symptoms of an increasing taste, in the reading public, for subjects so ominous to some who pride themselves in being practical men, as psychology and metaphysics. Whatever may be said against speculative philosophy by those who disdain the labour of thought, certain it is, that so long as the mind of man remains what it now is, no revolutions in learning and science will ever be able to divert it effectually from those inquiries which are natural to a being whose intellectual life is knowledge; and who, right or wrong, *will* form some ideas respecting the mystery of his own inward constitution. We were glad to find Sir John Herschell, at the last meeting of the British Association, sounding a note which will not die away with the progress either of the exact, or the experimental physical sciences; but will, with their advance, only tend to elicit those hidden harmonies which are latent in all branches of knowledge: for there is not one which, in its ultimate principles, does not lead us directly to the constitution of man, who forms for himself all systems, according to the laws of his own nature.

‘The fact is every year becoming more broadly manifest,’ says Sir John Herschell, ‘by the successful application of scientific principles to subjects that had been only hitherto empirically treated, that the great work of Bacon was not the completion, but, as he himself foresaw and foretold, only the commencement of his own philosophy; and that we are even yet only at the threshold of that palace of truth, which succeeding ages will range over as their own;’

a world of scientific enquiry, in which not matter only and its properties, but the far more rich and complex relations of life and thought, of passion and motive, interest and action, will come to be regarded as its legitimate objects.'

It cannot be denied, however, that, as yet, due prominence has not been given, in the higher general education, to what is usually termed *philosophy*, in distinction from exact and physico-experimental science. We have been much disappointed that so excellent an opportunity of incorporating it with other branches of knowledge, as a qualification for academical distinctions, was to so great an extent neglected, on the establishment of the University of London. Not indeed that we would demand, on the part of the *student*, an avowed adhesion to any particular form of speculative philosophy, whether empirical or transcendental. We would not ask any one to acknowledge the authority either of Plato or Aristotle, of Leibnitz, Kant, or Hegel, of the French Eclectics, or of the English or the Scottish school. But we would demand, as one of the conditions of the Bachelor's degree, a competent acquaintance with the opinions which have been most current,—a knowledge of the *History* of speculative philosophy, in its details, and in the mutual relations of the various systems. This course of training would be the best preparation for the genuine study of history, and of all the moral sciences. That speculative philosophy has been much neglected at our ancient English national seats of learning is notorious. At Dublin, in Scotland, in France, and in Germany, matters have been very different. Even the university of London, greatly as its idea of academical education is superior to that which long prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge, still makes no provision for a due acquaintance with mental philosophy, on the part of the bulk of its *alumni* in arts. It is true, indeed, that the moral sciences form one of the three roads by which the degree of master of arts may be reached, and those who choose to travel it must prepare themselves in psychology; but it is not very clear, from the present calendar, what proportion of masters have graduated on examination in the moral sciences:—we should say certainly not the majority. Indeed the number of students who have advanced to the higher degree is comparatively very small. Out of a hundred and forty-seven bachelors of arts, ninety had, according to the regulations, had time to take the master's degree up to the present year, but only *ten* had availed themselves of that distinction. We always thought it very likely that the proportion of masters to bachelors would be but small: * the greater is the necessity that a subject having so

* Vid. '*Academical Education, and Degrees in Arts*,' 1837.

decided a bearing on the elements of all human and divine knowledge as psychology and metaphysical philosophy in general, should be provided for in the examination for the bachelor's degree. As the regulations now stand, numbers come forth every year as educated men, who may be as ignorant as they please of the subjects to which such minds as Bacon, Locke, Reid, Dugald Stewart, Kant, Jouffroi, devoted their splendid talents: nay it is not necessary even that their very *names* should be known to those who are endorsed as graduates of a university!

We are gratified, therefore, to perceive that a book on mental philosophy, no great matter of what school, has reached a third edition so comparatively soon after the publication of the second. As the work before us has already met with favorable notice in the pages of this periodical, on the publication of each of the former editions, it is unnecessary for us to dwell at length on its merits. The author has not modified any of his general principles; but still the book has undergone a careful revision, by which it has come forth in an improved state. It is also increased by notes occupying about forty pages, containing quotations from a variety of writers on mind and morals. In the portion of the volume which is devoted to pure mental philosophy, the author appears as the candid and able expositor of the philosophy of Dr. Thomas Brown. But though he chiefly follows this great Scottish metaphysician, (sometimes where we should have preferred an independent course), the work is far from being a mere compilation: every theory has passed under his own careful scrutiny. The book is well calculated to be useful to those who wish to become acquainted with the doctrines of the northern school, as they were left by the very acute, if not always very cautious, Edinburgh professor, Dr. Brown. We should have liked to see a comparison of this school with that of the most sober Germans, especially Kant; also with the French Eclecticism, as represented by Cousin and Jouffroi. We have still much to learn from the Germans, notwithstanding all their philosophical vagaries; and the modern French Eclectics have pointed out the way.

In the portion of the work which relates to ethics, the author widely differs from Brown, who lays the foundation of virtue in the arbitrary constitution of the mind. The reader cannot fail to derive advantage from the concise and enlightened criticism which is here instituted of the principal British writers on morals as a science. We are glad to find that Dr. Payne agrees so fully with ourselves on the important question relating to the existence or non-existence of *natural ethics*, as we learn by an extract which he has quoted, in his notes, from our late review of Spalding's 'Christian Morals.' In another popular work,

views are maintained, which to himself, as well as to us, seem to imply that Revelation is to man the only source of the knowledge of right and wrong. We hold that this opinion is contrary to consciousness as unfolded in our moral estimate of Christianity, contrary to historic fact, contrary to the testimony of Scripture, and ultimately contrary to itself, as being incapable of being carried out with any consistency. We have not space to enter on this discussion; but we are happy to find so strenuous a testimony against the above theory from various quarters, as may be seen from the notes to Dr. Payne's volume. It is to be regretted that the views to which we allude should have been put forth under so deservedly respected a name; apparently under the sanction, too, of a large and influential religious body. The more likely, on these accounts, are those readers to be biased, who are wont to be guided by honoured names, and honoured authority: and the greater is the danger of prejudice to religious truth in a large and increasing class of minds; who may be apt to identify its modes of representation with philosophical error, and to suppose that they see an example of contradiction between religion and moral science where no such contradiction really exists.

Art. VII.—*The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White, written by himself; with portions of his Correspondence.* Edited by John Hamilton Thom. 3 Vols. London: Chapman, 1845.

THE Life of Mr. Blanco White was one of the comparatively small number of lives that deserve to be published; and it is published in a manner which exhibits it fairly and fully. We do not think that three volumes were needed to present an external history, a great portion of which was without adventures—and an experience, always changing it is true, but not advancing; always in motion, but going round, not forward. Excess is, however, a small error in the present day, nor shall we quarrel much about the size of this work, when memoirs are constantly appearing, for which no sufficient reason can be adduced. It is something to find a man who has a life—who records it from a higher motive than desire for posthumous fame; who does not need to magnify it, in order to give it claims upon attention; and on whose merits, therefore, death does not act, as on his frame, producing first extension, and then corruption. Mr. White was doubtless such a man. Holding very decided convictions as to the character and tendency of his last religious sentiments, regarding them with a feeling of horror upon their own account,

and pity upon his ; we yet are glad that his life has been made known. It exhibits many deeply interesting phenomena, and reads many important lessons ; and if it tend to promote scepticism in a few, it will as certainly act as a preservative of many from the sorrows of unbelief.

Mr. White was known to a great portion of the 'religious world,' and was an object of interest to it for some time. He appeared before Protestant England in the attractive character of a *religious proselyte*. Such persons are generally popular with the class they join. Their testimony, as to the people and things which they have left, is caught up eagerly, in strange forgetfulness, that a man may secede from a body without being able to pourtray it—that but few men can bear wise and faithful witness of *what is*—that fewer can trace its connection with its hidden causes—and that the testimony of proselytes may be as much the fruit of solicitude about self, as zeal for truth. But the spirit of sectarianism is but little anxious to note such things—a temporary party triumph is too sweet to be lost by calling them to mind. Hence, partly, the cordiality of Mr. White's reception here. With the interest of a convert, however, he united the claims of a philosopher. It was soon felt that he was an extraordinary man. His works evinced it. His associations implied it. But whatever his sagacity and acuteness as an investigator of systems, we rather value him as their mirror. The chief worth of his life consists in the view presented of the action of religious principles on a noble nature—consists in the *experience* described and traced ; and therefore it is well that he himself recorded it. With the exception of a few pages respecting his last days, all is from his own pen. The first part consists of a Narrative of the events of his life to 1826, in letters addressed to Dr. Whately—the second part, of a sketch of his mind in England to 1824—and the third part, of extracts from journals and correspondence. Mr. White's design that his life should be published, may lessen the worth of some of the records, as insensibly affecting him while making them : but of the integrity of his account, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The task of Mr. Thom appears to have been discharged with judgment and good feeling. The preface has too much of the spirit of boasting, which attaches in a pre-eminent degree to writers of his school, when they have gained a convert of any mark. In this instance it has more reason than it always has. Mr. White was a great man ; and those who did not regard him, speaking religiously, as a great ruin, will naturally rejoice in him as a great gain.

Mr. White's ancestors were persons of note in Ireland, where they were reduced in wealth and influence in consequence of their adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, the first spolia-

tion taking place under Cromwell. The sufferer's son, the great grandfather of Mr. White, was obliged to follow his father from Dublin to Waterford, where they became merchants. Mr. White's grandfather was one of five children; four of whom were sent abroad to escape the oppression of the penal laws. His only sister married a Protestant. The manner in which that lady was spoken of in the family, led Mr. White to suspect that she had become a Protestant, and had thus deprived her brother of some landed property. What a story of persecution do these things belong to, and call to remembrance, in the unhappy sister island! What a miserable instance do they afford of the effects of State interference with religious opinions! And how inconsistent must they make the resistance on the ground of simple principle, of even evil measures claiming to be dictates of justice and charity, appear to a long persecuted people.

Mr. White's grandfather established himself at Seville, and an uncle, having no children, left him the whole of a large mercantile establishment. The family lived in the best style. The King of Spain granted them all the privileges of the Spanish *noblesse*, in perpetuity. The establishment failed afterwards, just enough property being saved to provide a comfortable subsistence for the family. The father of Mr. White joined in partnership with his brother-in-law, a Mr. Cahill, and, writes our author in 1830,—‘carried on the mercantile concerns, which are still supporting my brother and Mr. Cahill's grand-children. It is curious enough that another Irishman (Mr. Beck), brought up as a clerk in the establishment, married my cousin, (Mr. Cahill's only child) and joined partnership with my brother after my father's death. My family, in fact, may be considered as a small Irish colony, whose members preserve the language, and many of the habits and affections which its founder brought to Spain.’

Mr. White was born in Seville, on the 11th of July, 1775. His mother, who was connected with the old Andalusian *noblesse*, had a strong dislike to his being brought up to mercantile affairs, but at first submitted, and, accordingly, at eight years of age, he commenced a severe apprenticeship in the counting house. The labour proved too fatiguing. His mother fretted lest his health and his mind should both suffer. With great difficulty she obtained permission for a private tutor to teach him Latin grammar in the evening, for which purpose he was released at an early hour from secular engagements. The Irish and the Spanish branches of his family not agreeing on the subject of his studies, though he was ‘only twelve years old, and more ignorant of the world than an English child of eight,’ he hit upon the expedient of declaring a strong inclination to be a

clergyman. Divines decided that he had a true call. The authorities were irresistible. Still, as a few years might witness a change, the mercantile party contended that the morning should be devoted to the office, while the afternoons were given to the school. His progress was satisfactory, and when scarcely fourteen, he was hurried into the study of philosophy, for which the priests, who governed his parents' consciences, declared no great knowledge of Latin to be necessary. Accordingly, when he left school, he could hardly construe Cicero and Virgil. In other respects, his ignorance was perfect. He had read nothing but the lives of saints. At this period he obtained a copy of Don Quixote, which he read by stealth, and, says he, 'I do not recollect any enjoyment equal to that I received, when, concealing the history of Don Quixote from all the family, I devoured it in a small room which was allotted to me, that I might study my lessons undisturbed. Even Don Quixote was considered a dangerous book by my father.'

Of his parents Mr. White speaks in the highest terms, as to their excellence of heart, benevolence, and sincere piety. But nothing could exceed their submission to the clergy. In such a state of isolation was he brought up, that he looked on the poor children in the streets with envy at their happiness in being permitted to associate with their equals. Of his elementary education he says :—

'The theoretical part of that education was confined to the knowledge of the Catechism, with theological explanations in the jargon of school divinity. In such explanations of mysteries I certainly became an adept for my age. The practical part consisted in a perpetual round of devotional practices, of which I still preserve the most painful recollection. I absolutely dreaded the approach of Sunday. Early in the morning of that formidable day, when I was only eight years old, I was made to go with my father to the Dominican convent of *San Pablo*, where his confessor resided. Twice in the month I was obliged to submit to the practice of confession, which my father went through every Sunday. In the church I had to wait for nearly two hours before breakfast. A short time was then allowed for that meal; after which we went to the cathedral, where I had either to stand or kneel (as there are no seats,) a couple of hours more. Many times did I faint through exhaustion; but nothing could save me from a similar infliction on the succeeding Sunday. At twelve we returned home: dined at one; and set out at three for another church, where we spent about two hours. After prayers, if the season allowed it, we took a walk, which generally ended in visiting the wards of a crowded and pestilential hospital, where my father, for many years, spent two or three hours of the evening, in rendering to the sick every kind of service, not excluding the most menial and disgusting. He was twice at death's door, in conse-

quence of infection. But nothing could damp his philanthropy.' Vol. i. pp 10, 11.

At the age of fourteen, Mr. White entered the school of philosophy, till which time he had not been allowed to walk out alone.

' My father's confessor was a Dominican, who naturally patronized a college of his order, founded in the sixteenth century for public instruction at Seville. The Jesuits had been its great rivals. Upon the extinction of that order, the government, then chiefly in the hands of a Minister who had a smattering of modern philosophy, had separated the university from the college, called *Mayor*, (where I afterwards obtained a fellowship,) and deprived the Dominican College of the power of granting degrees. The system pursued at the *new* university, though very imperfect, was free from the absurdities of the Aristotelic schools. It was, on this ground, charged by the Dominicans with a tendency to produce heresy. To save me from that tendency, I was sent to the Dominican College. Totally unprepared for the dry speculations of the voluminous Logic that was put into my hands, I gave up the class-book in despair, after some unsuccessful efforts to understand it. At that time, one of my father's sisters, who, I might take upon myself to say, was the only lady at Seville possessing a small collection of books, allowed me to read the works of Feyjoo, a Benedictin, who, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, made a bold attack on the scholastic system, and recommended experimental philosophy on the Baconian principles. Feyjoo had derived his knowledge from French books, and was supported by the ministers of Ferdinand VI., all of whom were trained in the anti-christian schools of France. The cautious Benedictin kept always on the safe side when he had to touch on the established religion; but, in the attack of popular errors, he gave full play to his wit, which was considerable. His principal work consists of ten or twelve closely-printed Spanish quartos. These I read with the greatest avidity; yet in spite of the rapid perusal I gave then, I fully entered into the spirit of the work, and, if my recollection does not flatter me, I understood the principle of the Baconian philosophy. Now, the very sight of the friar who lectured on logic at the Dominican College, became odious to me. One day he gave me a reprimand, before the class, for neglecting my studies. I rose from my seat, and told him plainly, those studies were not worth my attention, and never should have it. I repeated a number of remarks against the Aristotelic Philosophy, which I had learned from Feyjoo. The friar was enraged. and I wonder I escaped a beating from the other students. Frightened at my own boldness, I ran home, and told my mother all that had taken place. She disliked the Dominicans, and secretly regretted that I was under their tuition. I do not know how it was, but she managed my being sent to the University. There I learnt, in less than two months, the whole of what the logical class had been employed upon during the preceding course. My removal

took place about the beginning of the long vacation, during which the Professor had an *extra* class for a few weeks, to bring up those who had lagged during the regular course. I received a public compliment from the Professor on my industry and success, and at the beginning of the following course, in October, obtained a place among the foremost.'—ib. pp. 12—14.

The quarrel with the Dominican was the indication of a spirit which was never laid, and which had an important influence on his after life. 'A great love of knowledge, and an equally great hatred of *established* errors, were suddenly developed,' which, fifty years afterwards, he recognised, and rejoiced in, as identifying him with the boy of fifteen. Prior to this, however, his mind had been visited with some misgivings about Christianity, and singularly enough, the occasion of his first doubt was the reading of Fenelon's *Telemaque*. We shall give the passage describing it, as it is important in the history of his mind, and as it is not without instruction for many others :—

'My recollection of every circumstance connected with that transient doubt is quite perfect ; my delight in the descriptions of the sacrifices offered to the gods was intense. I felt besides a strong sympathy with the principal personages of the story ; the difference between their religion and my own struck me very powerfully, and my admiration of their wisdom and courage suggested the question, why should we feel so perfectly assured that those who worshipped in that manner were wrong ? I dwelt upon this argument for some time, but when the day arrived to go to confession, and I had to look at the catalogue of sins which is contained in the book of *Preparation*, I perceived the necessity of accusing myself of doubts against the faith. At the moment I am writing, the place where the confessional stood is clearly before my mind, and I see the countenance of the Dominican who used to shrive me : his name was *Padre Baréa*, a fat, rosy, good-tempered man, who nevertheless held the office of *consulting Divine* to the inquisition, and hated heretics from his heart, as in duty bound. In accusing myself, I fairly stated my argument. The friar's astonishment made him fall back in the confessional-box : yet, using the kindest expression which the Spanish language affords for addressing a child, * he asked what kind of books I read. I answered him with great simplicity, that I read no books but *Télémaque*. On hearing this, the friar smiled, and desiring me not to trouble my foolish head with such subjects, absolved me of all my sins, and did not even interdict the book which had been the innocent cause of my scepticism. I believe he would have been inclined to twist my neck, had he possessed any prophetic spirit, so as to foresee that the time would come when even the *Heretics*, whom he

* *Angelito, qué libros lees?* Little innocent, (literally, little angel), what books do you read ?

would have burnt with exultation, would find me too much a heretic for their taste.'—ib. pp. 18, 19.

From the age of fourteen, Mr. White applied himself with diligence to the acquisition of knowledge, and the performance of the varied and wearying duties of catholic devotion. The yoke laid upon him excited a desire more than once to abandon altogether the clerical profession. On one occasion, a visit to Cadiz, which was brought about by the artifice of an old lady, would probably have changed the whole course of his life, but for the seasonable occurrence of the *spiritual exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola, which he well terms 'a masterpiece of church machinery,' and which he describes with thrilling effect. We would fain transcribe the whole passage, but must confine ourselves to some sound and philosophical observations on *confession*:—

'This was the appointed time to begin the *General Confessions*. That name is likely to lead Protestants into a mistake; for it means, not a general acknowledgment of sinfulness, but a detailed account of the previous life of the person who is to make the *general* confession. Every thought, word, and deed, nay, every doubt, every uncertainty of conscience that can be called to remembrance, must be stated to the priest, at whose feet the self-accuser kneels during the long narrative. I say *long*, because the result of such a process of examination, as is carried on for four or five days, by the penitent himself, under the impression that any negligence on his part must involve him in guilt far exceeding that of all his former misdeeds, produces (in the sincere and sensitive) a morbid anxiety of which none but those who have experienced it can form an adequate notion. I will not stop to urge the grounds of a conviction, on which I have enlarged elsewhere—that auricular confession is one of the most mischievous practices of the Romanist Church. To those who are not totally ignorant of the philosophy of morals, it must be clear that such minute attention to individual faults—not to trace them to their source in the heart, but in order to ascertain whether they are *venial* or *mortal* sins, according to the judgment of another man—must, in an infinite number of cases, check the development of conscience, and may totally destroy it in many. As far as my experience extends, (and I have had fair opportunities of observing the effects of Romanism in myself, and in many others,) the evils of auricular confession increase in proportion to the sincerity with which it is practised. I know that what I am going to say will sound extremely harsh and startling to many. But I will not conceal or disguise the truth. Many, indeed, were the evils of which my subsequent period of disbelief in Christianity (a disbelief full of spite for the evils inflicted upon me in its name) was the occasion; yet I firmly believe that, but for the buffetings of that perilous storm, scarcely a remnant of the quick moral perception which God had naturally given to my

mind would have escaped destruction by the emaciating poison of confession. I judge from the certain knowledge of the secret conduct of many members of the clergy, who were deemed patterns of devotion. Like those wretched slaves, I should have been permanently the worse for the custom of sinning, and washing the sin away by confession. Free, however, from that debasing practise, my conscience assumed the rule, and, independently of hopes and fears, it clearly blamed what was clearly wrong, and, as it were, learnt to act by virtue of its natural supremacy.'—ib. pp. 42, 44.

The effect of the *Spiritual Exercises* was considerable, for a time. But a coldness towards the clerical profession was renewed by every relaxation from the common tenor of life, every contact with any but the usual society. Another visit to Cadiz, at the age of twenty, had such an effect, that he openly confessed his unwillingness to enter the church. For a month he maintained his resolution, in spite of the tears of his mother, and the united influence of all around him, who seemed in a conspiracy to bind him to the church. He yielded, and, on his coming of age, received sub-deacon's orders. Marriage being now unlawful, he was less watched in his intercourse with the world. Of the law which enforces the celibacy of the clergy, who will be surprised at the following account?

'Were it consistent with delicacy to detail the effects of that horrible law, which not only enforces celibacy on the clergy, but forbids their recovering their liberty by resigning their office, it might be proved to demonstration, that wherever such a law does exist, the standard of morality must suffer a certain debasement, even in the minds of those who (as in the case in question) might be held up as patterns of purity in their own conduct. There is not, there cannot be, a Spaniard, high or low, clergyman or layman, ignorant of the fact, that the celibacy of the clergy must be kept up at a certain loss of virtue in the country. None are more conscious of this fact than the clergy, both from their own experience, and from their accurate knowledge of other people's lives, which they acquire through confession. Can all of them be supposed to abet this source of immorality, from an indifference to its evils? It would be unfair to charge so many people indiscriminately, with a deliberate feeling of that kind; but the practical result (so far as the influence of public opinion is concerned) is the same as if they fully consented to the existence of such a state of morals. I will give *one* proof of the state of feeling prevalent among the purest and most irreproachable persons in my unfortunate country: that proof is contained in the fact, that *jokes* upon the celibacy of the clergy are considered unobjectionable, provided they do not go beyond general insinuations against the supposition that the ecclesiastical law is or can be strictly observed,—provided those insinuations are expressed without alarming delicacy. My mother (must I repeat that I never knew a higher model of female conduct?)

—my own mother used to repeat the well-known saying of an old bishop to those that came to him for orders. Those who had received what are called *Minor Orders*, which do not bind to celibacy, the good-humoured prelate dismissed with this advice: 'Beware of THEM.' (You must recollect that the Spanish pronoun admits a feminine termination. The bishop's words, in Spanish, were: *Guárdate de ellas*.) When candidates had been ordained *sub-deacons*, he altered the words of the advice into '*Que ellas se guarden de ti*:' 'Let *them* beware of you.' The *holy* Roman Catholic Church practically sanctions the bishop's advice. Can, then, her *fallible* subjects pretend to improve upon her views and practice? The celibacy of the clergy (they say to themselves) must be necessary, since the church supports it. It is, indeed, the cause of a certain portion of moral evil: let every individual avoid it as well as he can. Suppose he falls, he will probably recover soon from his error: after all, the evil is accidental; the advantages to the church are permanent.'—*ib.* pp. 53—55.

Bound at last to the church, he became a fellow of the Collegio Mayor, took deacon's orders, was ordained a priest, elected rector of his college, successfully competed for one of the chaplaincies of the Chapel Royal of St. Ferdinand, and had a fair prospect of attaining to the highest dignities of the church, when a total disbelief of Christianity inflicted a death-blow on all his hopes in that direction.

'At length the moment arrived when, by the deliberate admission of the fact that the *Church had erred*, I came at once to the conclusion at which every sincere Roman Catholic, in similar circumstances, must arrive. I concluded that Christianity could not be true. This inference was not properly my own. The church of Rome had most assiduously prepared me to draw it.

'When I recovered from the trepidation which this violent change had produced, my thoughts were turned to the difficult circumstances of my situation. How was I to act? To be a hypocrite, Nature had put out of my power, even if it had been my wish to act in that character. To relinquish my profession was impossible: the law of the country forbids it, and construes a voluntary relinquishment of all priestly offices into a proof of heresy, punishable with death. Unless I quitted the country, my acting as a priest was inevitable. But how could I expatriate myself without giving a death-blow to my parents? Could anything justify a step which must be attended by such consequences?'—*ib.* pp. 111, 112.

This change from belief to unbelief was helped by two new clerical acquaintances.

'I became acquainted with a member of the Upper Clergy, a man of great reading, and secretly, a most decided disbeliever in all religion. Through him I was introduced to another dignitary—a man

much older than either of us—who had for many years held an office of great influence in the Diocese ; but who now lived in a very retired way. He was also a violent Anti-Christian, as I subsequently found. But I should never have known the opinions of my new friends, had not the change which took place in myself, just at that time shown to them that they might trust me with their secret. That they were not of the bigotted party was evident to me ; else I should not have ventured to betray my state of mind in their presence. But as I gradually opened my views, they encouraged me to speak out. I well remember the occasion when I expressed my new views to the elder, in the presence of the younger of these two ecclesiastics. The elderly clergyman, whose manner was habitually sedate and dignified, broke out into an impassioned answer which struck me with astonishment. His language against the gospel was violent in the highest degree : he charged the religion of Christ with all the bloodshed of religious persecution ; with all the vices of the clergy ; with all the degradation of various countries, and especially that of our own. He concluded by telling me that, as I had just begun to emerge out of a bottomless gulf of prejudice and superstition, I could not have a correct view of things, till I had furnished my mind with historical facts, and other information which had hitherto been out of my reach. He then offered me the use of his secret library. My younger friend did the same. The latter possessed a very large collection of French prohibited works.’—vol. i. pp. 114—116.

Soon after his rejection of Christianity, having been induced to abandon an idea of emigrating to the United States, Mr. White resolved on a residence at Madrid, that he might enjoy exemption from the ‘ odious duties of his clerical office,’ whence he was induced, by the events of the Spanish revolution, to return to Seville. After entering warmly into the political proceedings of the times, he formed and executed the plan, while the people were in a state of consternation from the advance of the French troops, to leave for ever his native country. After a detention of some weeks at Cadiz, he set sail for England, and reached Falmouth on the 3rd of March, 1810. He had not been long in England before he set vigorously to work. The first thing he did was to establish a monthly journal, called the *Espanol*, the object of which was the improvement of his native country by means of a cordial co-operation with England, and his labours in conducting which were rewarded with a pension of £250 a year. This, with what he obtained in other ways, the fruits of authorship and tuition, a noble allowance of £100 during several of the last years of his life, from Archbishop Whately, and occasional public and private grants, enabled him to live in comfort, and kept his mind free from distraction and anxiety.

Regaining his belief of Christianity, Mr. White became a member of the Church of England, and when the restoration of Ferdinand closed his labours as editor of the *Espanol*, in 1814, he subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and established himself at Oxford. About a year afterwards he entered Lord Holland's family as tutor to the present Hon. Col. Fox, but, after two years, bad health and worse spirits compelled him to resign the post. Visits to friends, severe courses of medicine, controversy with Roman Catholics, and other literary labours, bring us to 1826, when the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford honoured him with a degree of Master of Arts, the want of which had rendered his former residence in that city uncomfortable. His journals at this time furnish some interesting records. Who can read the following extracts with indifference? The year was 1827.

'Feb. 12th.—A walk with Dr. Whately: a long conversation about one of his sermons.

18th.—Taken ill, and confined to the house the whole day. Newman drank tea with me.

28th.—A great part of the morning reading the sketch of a sermon to Dr. Whately.

March 3.—Seventeenth anniversary of my arrival in England. God be praised for that most signal of his mercies to me. Walked with Whately, and heard two of his sermons, on which he wished to have my opinion. Dined with a large party at New College.

11th.—A walk with Whately and Newman.

25th. Sunday.—Preached to the university at St. Peter's.

31st.—Called on Pusey, who walked with me. Pusey, Wilberforce, and Froude came in the evening to learn the order of the R. C. Service of the Breviary.—vol. i. pp. 438, 439.

On the elevation of Dr. Whately to be archbishop of Dublin, Mr. White became, for some time, an inmate in his family. But a change of religious opinions, which had long been going on, and indeed had long been completed, and which he felt himself constrained to publish to the world, obliged him, on the Archbishop's account, to remove from his house. This he did in 1835. For many years he had doubted respecting some of the essential principles of orthodoxy, having arrived at unitarianism as early as 1818, until at last he gave up not only 'the doctrines of the gospel,' as they are held by evangelical Christians, but the theory that Christianity was intended to teach any doctrines at all. When he determined on the publication of his 'Letters on Heresy and Orthodoxy,' in which this view is wrought out, and in the preface to which he avows, and describes his conversion from trinitarianism, he removed to Liverpool, where he died, May 20, 1841, in the sixty-sixth year of his age.

Such are some of the main facts of Mr. White's history, and, we think it is quite impossible to contemplate them without a mixture of pity and pleasure. They indicate much to admire, and much to mourn over. Mr. White possessed great abilities, and also possessed the qualities without which the greatest abilities are of little worth; industry, and application. In commencing new courses of study at an age when many give over studying at all, and in prosecuting them successfully, he showed a thirst for knowledge, and a persevering energy, the want of which would account for the failure of even greater minds, and the presence of which cause far inferior minds to 'do exploits.' His masterly knowledge and use of our language, as the editor justly describes it, 'the most perfect perhaps ever attained by a foreigner,' affords a remarkable instance of these qualities. Indeed, knowledge was the food of his mind. It was even more than his necessary meat. In the higher philosophy of mind and morals, he made glorious excursions; and had he lived longer, and been more free from bodily and mental miseries, might have attained high rank as a metaphysical thinker. It is with less pleasure we refer to him in other aspects of his character. That he was endowed with noble qualities of heart, honour, truth, and tenderness, we have no wish to deny; and that the exhibition of his moral principles and feelings is to be considered in connexion with the manifold evils of his ecclesiastical experience, and personal infirmities, and outward life, must be obvious to all. He was very proud. Self-consciousness, detracting from the force and beauty of many otherwise lovely exhibitions, frequently appears. He had a morbid zeal for his own rights. He had no idea of losing anything. His sacrifices fed his self-esteem. He brought the spirit of Diogenes to the treatment of the gay and pleasant things of orthodoxy and the church, trampling on their pride with greater pride. No man was more susceptible of harsh or uncourteous address, and yet no man could put more gall into his cup, or more thorns into his scourge. While smarting from the suspicions and indifference of former friends, he could speak of the 'whining, blubbering, sentimental tone of the confessing methodists.' Had he continued a Roman Catholic, he would have made a good one. He never got rid, amidst all his liberalism, of the spirit of infallibility. When most indignant at the imposition of *senses* of Scripture, he could say, 'I see no alternative between charging God with setting a trap for men, and my conclusion that he does not demand from them such an explicit acknowledgment: viz., That the divinity of Christ is one of the essentials of Christianity.' There is one other point in Mr. White's character to which we should not allude, but that our

attention is so often turned towards it by himself. He is constantly praising his honesty and faithfulness—claiming no small share of honour on their account. That he was incapable, as he avers, of direct dissembling, there is no room to doubt, but we cannot discern much reason for self-laudation, after all, on the score of martyrdom. He confesses that he adopted every means of avoiding the opinions he came afterwards to hold—that he resisted many impulses towards them; and that he suppressed them after they received a definite form. It is plain from his narrative that he remained a Catholic priest for years after he became an infidel, or an atheist; and a Protestant clergyman for years after he became an avowed Unitarian. ‘From the defects of his education, and the accidents of his position, Mr. Blanco White had, unfortunately, accustomed himself, like many of his countrymen, to disguise his sentiments; he felt it irksome to do so, but he did it; and waited until it was quite *convenient* to throw off the cloak.’ In doing this he did only what many do; that he fell below the general standard of sincerity, and sacrifice, is not maintained; but a man should rise far above it to be held up as an example, or to claim special honour. The fluctuations of Mr. White’s religious belief are not, we think, difficult to be accounted for. They were not so various as may at first sight appear. He went twice the same road. From Spanish popery to infidelity; and from English-churchism to ultra-rationalism, are not essentially different changes. A mind, having gone through the process once, might easily go through it again. He was of a sceptical turn; he had a morbid desire for demonstration; and this temper prevented his continuing long in one stage. But no class of circumstances could be more unfavourable to his continued belief in Christianity, than those in which he was brought up. Popery and infidelity ever play into each other’s lap. We can scarcely imagine a mind like Mr. White’s continuing popish. And having undergone a thorough religious revolution once, it is not surprising that change should become the order of the day. Such a revolution seldom permits the attainment of a perfect settledness afterwards. And in minds of a certain class, even when it is a change from error to truth, its consequences in instability never disappear. The man is cured, but it is by a shock, which leaves a permanent impression of its force. Mr. White was not the man to pass through an entire change of faith without receiving an increased susceptibility of change, and adding this to his natural fickleness and extravagant demand of proof, we are not at all surprised at the adoption by him of any views, and should not have been surprised if, in case of lengthened life, he had retravelled the whole way of his soul.

There was, and we cannot honestly but notice it, a serious defect in Mr. White's character—speaking religiously. We do not find proof that he ever felt the sanctifying power of Christianity. His faith was always easy. It did not gird and goad him. He had a consistent abhorrence of enthusiasts. Certainly he was calm and cool. 'The fire did not burn' so as to make him speak with his tongue, unless it was proper to do so. He had not the 'constraint' of an irresistible affection. We never behold him doing any thing as if it was impossible for him to have left it undone. Zeal to propagate what he deemed truth, he did not show. Instead of 'power,' his godliness seemed far more like a paralysis. And as to those humbling views of self which we have always associated with Christianity, he did not possess them, nor did he like them. 'Humility,' says he, 'could not be raised to the catalogue of *virtues* except in a society chiefly composed of men degraded by personal slavery, such as history exhibits the early church.' Certainly he had not this 'sanctified cloak for cowardice.' We are not complaining of a knowledge of his powers—of his rights. We have no sympathy with the degrading sentiment, that a man is proud in feeling his superiority to his fellow men. But our deep regret, in reading these Memoirs, is, that they reveal none of those estimates and feelings which every Christian must be expected to possess. Sin was a bugbear by which he was not frightened. None would suspect, but from the use of personal terms, that he was the creature of a great and holy God—that he had transgressed his laws—and that he depended on mercy for exemption from punishment. Perhaps he would smile at our mention of these things; it is very possible; but we shall only add, that if the self-complacent, defiant, temper revealed in these Memoirs be the temper of the Gospel, our views and Mr. White's differ essentially, not only as to the theoretical character, but as to the spirit, of Christianity. The truths of God never took hold of his heart. He saw things in what Bacon calls a 'dry light.'

As to his last theological views, they are soon dismissed. His only system was in having no system. He differed from all sects—Channing and Norton believing too much for him, as well as Newman and Whately. He denounced established churches. He denounced dissenting churches. They all have, according to him, the root of grave and grievous error. They hold, in different forms, the essence of despotism and persecution—a doctrinal faith. It is not orthodox opinions, but the idea of orthodoxy, that does the mischief. The only heresy is to think that there can be such a thing. The common Christian reverence for God is nothing better than idolatry—the common

Christian reverence for the Bible nothing better than bibliolatry. The Quakers are most right in their leading principle. What they call 'the spirit,' is to be taken for conscience, or practical reason; and then Blanco White agrees with Fox and Barclay. God is to be learnt from within. It is a vain attempt to seek for the knowledge of the Deity anywhere else. To define Him is to deny Him. A peculiar revelation is impossible. Christianity has nothing in the shape of critical history, but the spirit of benevolence, justice, and mercy, in the form of conscience, the ground of which is reason. The difference of right and wrong is only to be found in the conscience of each individual. Christ, and his apostles, did not mean to leave a rule for our faith and actions. The authenticity of what they left is only a probability; and even if not so, conscientious reason, God's true inspiration, must decide whether we are to receive it or not as worthy of Him. Let people give it whatever name they please, when we follow the best dictates of our conscience, we follow the Spirit of God, and of Christ. To ask by what rule we are to be guided, is the same as to ask by what rule we are to use our eyes. No historical evidence is sufficient to establish a miracle, Hume's argument against miracles being incontrovertible. The testimony of the senses, attesting a miracle, is to be rejected, if it tend to invalidate the internal idea of God; and if there could be a moral fault in such unbelief, the author of our mental constitution would be responsible for it. The Bible contains physical errors, and the supposed infallible law-giver of the Jews fell into moral mistakes. Socrates, an invalid, or valetudinarian, would have been quite another individual, and, as far as we know the personal qualities of Jesus of Nazareth, the same may probably be asserted of him. There is nothing in Paul superior to Marcus Antoninus; the Stoic philosophy is the source of the Pauline philosophical fragments; but the philosopher's instructions have the advantage over the incompleteness, exaggeration, and rough fragmentary character of the apostle's lucubrations. Of course the main articles of popular creeds are altogether wrong. The Trinity is a bewildering and bewildered dream of African fanatics. The ultra-mundane tragedy of the atonement is a theological fable. The devil is an odious chimera. The notion of an individual eternal existence is oppressive, even when absence of evil is made one of its conditions; such existence seeming to belong only to the Infinite.

Such, in his own words, were the general sentiments of Mr. White. Our readers will have little difficulty in filling up this outline of negations. They will at once see where Mr. White was at the period of his death, and also whither he was going. There was but one thing left for him to give up—but one piece of the 'wreck' of his faith not washed away by the rolling billows of

a sceptical philosophy. He still held the idea of a personal God. We cannot but think, however, that his hold even of that was giving way, and that, had he lived, it would have shared the fate of so many other things, revered through custom, though renounced in consequence of better knowledge.

It is not our design to combat the religious views of Mr. White. Such a task is incompatible with our limits. The general question relates to the deepest and most comprehensive subjects of human inquiry. It involves the profoundest speculations of philosophy. Passing this, we do not think it would be difficult to show great errors and inconsistencies in Mr. White's statements and reasonings. That he frequently caricatures the evangelical faith; that he takes advantage, as a candid man should not, of the extravagances of its adherents; that he pushes the acknowledged opinions of others to an unwarrantable extreme, and thus makes them appear ridiculous; that he erroneously represents 'saving faith' as a mere reception of theological dogmas; that he makes an absurd demand for demonstration in cases sufficiently met by moral evidence; and that he treats the views of Christianity held by others in a way that is not justified even by his own principles:—all this, we take it, might be easily proved. His great point is, that nothing exists between the concession of an infallible interpreter of Christianity, and the denial of its dogmatic character altogether. Popery and rationalism are the only things for us to choose between. Adopting the sentiment of Channing, that the supposition of an infallible church involves the supposition of infallible men in order to discover it, he maintains, that if the Gospel teach doctrines, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, there must be an absolute authority somewhere for the purpose of ascertaining what those doctrines are. This principle was at the source of both his great lapses to unbelief. Such an authority does not exist in the Romish church, for that church has erred, therefore Christianity is false, was his first conclusion; such an authority does not exist anywhere else, therefore Christianity is not a doctrinal system, was his last conclusion. But is it true that such an authority is required at all? We think not, and that something very different from calm and impartial reason led to the assertion of a principle which involves consequences of so grave a nature, violating at once the dictates of a sound philosophy, and contradicting all the analogies of life.

We have read these volumes with much interest. Apart from the personal history of Mr. White's life and mind, they contain a great deal by which the intelligent reader will be instructed and pleased. The notices and letters of such men as Hawkins and Whately, Holland and Mill, Coleridge and Southey, Chan-

ning and Norton, impart to these pages a great value. And as to matter of a different character, if it shall excite sympathy with the spiritual exercises of other minds; promote a better knowledge of some of the great principles that are coming daily into closer collision, and of the right way of dealing with them; check the excessive applications of even right theories; and, above all, teach the necessity of 'receiving the kingdom of heaven as little children,' we shall not think that 'The Life of the Rev. Joseph Blanco White' was published in vain.

Art VIII. *The Citizen of Prague*. Translated by Mary Howitt. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Colburn.

THE work with which Mrs. Howitt has now presented us from the German, we have often wondered has not been translated before. In Germany, and we think justly, it has for several years been placed at the very head of all works of fiction by a female hand in that country. The writer, the Frau von Palzow, has a masculine mind, full of historic information, and creative power. Her style is clear, elevated, and vigorous. There is a truth of character about all that she does, which fills us with the deepest respect for her talents, and this respect is heightened by the exquisite purity, and moral force, of her productions. She is the author of several other works, all held in good estimation by her countrymen, but none likely to have the same attractions for us. In fact, it is evident that she is a great reader of Sir Walter Scott, and in her other subjects, whether the scene be laid in France or England, she is continually treading on his own peculiar ground, and actually dealing with some of his most prominent heroes, as Montrose, and the Pretender. In such encroachments she makes, as may be expected, strange work of it, and not the less strange is the work she makes with our titles and names of places. All these faults are sufficiently hidden from her readers at home, and therefore, do not mar to them the harmony of the general composition. In this work, the scene of which is laid in her own country, Austria, including Bohemia, of course these drawbacks do not occur. She is on ground, and among personages and events, all thoroughly familiar to her, and these happily, also, prevent any clashing with our great Scottish romancer. The subjects and the characters are entirely her own, and are finely selected, and nobly conceived. The story is laid in the time of the Empress Maria Theresa, and the interest arises out of the attempts of a patriot party to raise Bohemia, the Ireland of Austria, out of its wretchedness, or to sever it from the empire. Mrs. Howitt has briefly alluded to this fact in her preface; it is too curious to be omitted.

‘I cannot let this noble work go out of my hands, without endeavouring by a few words to draw the reader’s attention to the singular coincidence between the relative positions of Austria and Bohemia, as demonstrated in the story, and those of England and Ireland at the present moment. Neither is this coincidence confined to the countries themselves; it extends equally to the most eminent and active personages in both cases;—a queen upon the throne,—a distinguished advocate and agitator implicated,—the public trial for high treason,—and the great national effort for a suffering people.

‘It strikes me, that in these volumes there lies a profound moral lesson, which both the monarch and the subjects of these islands may read and apply to the happy advantage of the public weal. Independently, however, of this curious coincidence, which must force itself on every reader’s attention, the beautiful and elevated spirit which breathes through the whole work, and animates its leading characters, makes this splendid romance an honour to human nature.’

We think these sentiments very just. In fact, the characters engaged in working out the story of these volumes are of a kind that may well be looked up to as examples, even by the monarch upon the throne. We could have wished to see this work expressly dedicated to the Queen of England. Maria Theresa, on the united throne of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, one of the finest women both in person and in mind that ever did sit at the head of a great empire, is an object in itself most august and attractive; but Maria Theresa sitting there, deeply and earnestly engaged in the avowed object of abolishing the serfdom, and raising to the level of the general empire the condition of one long-abused and oppressed kingdom of it, is an object befitting the glorious emulation of our own fair sovereign. What an unrivalled opportunity for winning a greater reputation than any monarch since the days of Alfred!—what a power of blessing millions, and of becoming enshrined in the heart of all posterity as the genuine mother of her people, has Providence placed within reach of the throne of Victoria! Shall it be lost? Shall the resplendent fame of such a deed die unattempted? Shall Maria Theresa stand alone as the one beautiful sovereign who roused herself to the godlike task of a nation’s regeneration, and in the very exercise of the necessary energies, shone forth like a star, and became thenceforth for ever the adored memory of her nation? How easy were the task of healing and exalting here. How one firm word spoken would inspire all the best men of the age to unite with heart and intellect, to achieve that great work of redress and improvement, which in our own empire wants doing. This one

word would, in fact, call out all that strength which is needed to put a check to the disunion that is going on unrestrained, and bring into proper equipoise the influence of O'Connell, the Thyrnau of Ireland. And here we would also observe how much might be learned by the Irish agitator from the noble, devoted, consistent, and self-renouncing Thomas Thyrnau, the agitator of Bohemia. In both empress and subject, even when apparently opposed, when one had called the other before her as a traitor, the truthfulness and patriotic highmindedness are so clear and mutually intelligible, that instead of anger and condemnation, there follow a unity of object, and the great work triumphs.

We have been led into these remarks by the peculiarity of one phasis of this work, forgetting that our readers are still in the dark as to the story. It is simply this. Count Lacy von Wratislaw, a nobleman of English descent, is left the heir of his uncle's vast estates in Bohemia. These estates, however, he has not seen since he was a boy, nor the guardian in whose hands they are, has he ever seen. This guardian is a Mr. Thomas Thyrnau, an advocate. Count Lacy has come of age, and has received many pressing requests from Thomas Thyrnau to go to Tein, his principle castle, in the immediate neighbourhood of which Thyrnau lives, at an old house called the Dolen-nest, or, in plain English, the Jackdaw-nest. Lacy, however, hesitates to do this, because he is assured by this Thomas Thyrnau that in his uncle's will there is a clause making the inheritance of the property contingent on Lacy's marrying the niece of this very Thomas Thyrnau, the guardian. Besides the degradation according to Austrian notions of a noble marrying a plain citizen's daughter, and besides the repugnance to be compelled into such a marriage without his wishes having been consulted, Lacy has already formed an attachment to a somewhat middle-aged Princess Morani. Thomas Thyrnau, under these circumstances, presents himself in the mysterious distance as some cunning and designing lawyer, who has managed to entrap the old Count Lacy into this scheme of self-aggrandisement. It turns out, however, that Thomas Thyrnau and old Count Lacy had been friends from youth; had been engaged in the great scheme of calling in France to assist in liberating Bohemia from Austrian despotism; that Count Lacy had actually sunk all his property in the scheme, and that it was become that of Thomas Thyrnau, who, to enable it to return to the Lacys, had consented to the plan of the marriage of young Lacy and his own niece. Lacy marries the Princess Morani, and then becomes aware of the real character of Thyrnau and his beautiful niece Magda. These revelations occur amid the charges of high treason, under which

Thomas Thyrnau is brought to Vienna, when Lacy not only discovers the noble character of the man, and the enormous sacrifices he has made both to save his uncle the old count, and his country, but that he himself and Thyrnau are equally engaged heart and soul in the same great national cause.

It may be imagined, under these circumstances, what striking incidents occur, and what a display of all the strongest and most exciting passions and sentiments is involved. The trial of Thyrnau before the empress is a masterly achievement. The scenes into which you are led, to the castles of Tein and of Karlstein, in Bohemia, the latter the royal fortress to which Thomas Thyrnau is ostensibly sent as prisoner of state, though really to form a new code of laws for his country, are extremely new, fresh, and charming. The characters of Thyrnau, Magda, his niece, and Lacy himself, are some of the finest and noblest conceptions in all fiction. There is such a beautiful self-renunciation about them, without any attempt at the superfine. They are at once natural and great.

Our limits just now will not permit us either to make extract, or to go further into the details of the work. We must not, however, omit to notice the amusing punctiliousness of the old aristocratic governor of the fortress of Karlstein, Count Podiebrad, nor the lively and witty Princess Therese.

We congratulate Mrs. Howitt on introducing to our acquaintance another foreign authoress, of such sterling pretensions. No two writers can be more unlike than Miss Bremer and Madame von Palzow. Miss Bremer is unrivalled in her scenes and characters. The spirit of love and truest human sympathies confers a peculiar charm on all she writes. Madame von Palzow, on the contrary, delights in a loftier sphere of action. There is something at once historical and dramatic in her subjects. Historic in their groundwork, they are essentially dramatic in their management. That citizen of Prague, under the name of Thomas Thyrnau, has been dramatized and brought on the stage at Vienna with great effect. There is a dignity both in the style and in the characters of Madame Palzow, which might give an air of stiffness, were not the whole alive with a glow of the tenderest and yet noblest passion. In the unity of these two qualities, the fair authoress is unrivalled.

Being familiar with the original, we have remarked with a most agreeable surprise the bold and successful manner in which Mrs. Howitt has treated this work. The fault of the original, and, in fact, of all the Frau von Palzow's works, is, that they are in places too diffuse. Any one of them would, translated, word for word, make not three such volumes as the present, but five. This is less a translation than a new casting of the story; and we may

say, without fear of contradiction, that the work in its English shape is far superior to it in the original. There your impatience outruns the progress of the narrative, here the whole is compact, lucid, and full of the eloquent interest of a finely elaborated original story.

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- ART. IX —1. *An Address to Dissenters on the Religious Bearings of the State-Church Question.* By the Author of "*The Anti-State-Church Catechism.*"
2. *The Church of Christ—What is it?* (First Premium Tract.) By Brewin Grant, B.A.,
3. *The Law of Christ for Maintaining and Extending his Church.* By the Rev. D. Young, D.D., of Perth.
4. *Church Patronage; more particularly as developed in the so-called National Establishment of England and Wales; as also in Ireland.* By Matthew Bridges, Esq.
5. *State Churches, not Churches of Christ.* By Edward Smith Pryce, B.A. (Second Premium Tract.)
6. *Religious Establishments incompatible with the Rights of Citizenship.* By Edward Miall.
7. *The Separation of Church and State.* By M. Merle D'Aubigne, Author of "*The History of the Reformation.*" Translated from the French, by J. M. Hare.
8. *The Anti-State-Church Catechism. Adapted for popular use.* (Third Premium Tract.) By the Rev. A. J. Morris, of Holloway, Author of "*An Address to Dissenters on the Religious Bearings of the State-Church-Question.*"
9. *The Church Principles of the New Testament.* By James Godkin, Author of "*A Guide from the Church of Rome to the Church of Christ,*" &c.
10. *A State Church not defensible on the Theory espoused by liberal Episcopalians.* By F. W. Newman, Esq., formerly fellow of Baliol College, Oxford.
11. *Organisation: Objections to it for Anti-State-Church Purposes, Considered and Refuted.* By the Rev. D. Katterns.
12. *An Address to Dissenting Sunday-School Teachers, on the Duty of Inculcating the Principles involved in a Scriptural Separation from State Churches.* By the Rev. W. Forster.

Published at the Office of the British Anti-State Church Association, 12, Warwick-square, London.

In a former number of our Journal we gave a brief sketch of the circumstances out of which the *British Anti-State Church Association* grew, and attempted an exposition of its constitution and objects. Nearly two years have elapsed since then, and we now return to the subject, with a view of tracing the progress of the society, and of ascertaining, so far as is practicable, the cha-

racter and force of the objections still urged against it. Amidst the ominous silence of some of our contemporaries, and the more than suspected hostility of others, we regard it as specially incumbent on ourselves to attempt the discharge of this duty. To neglect it would bring our fidelity into question, whilst from a fair and thorough investigation of the subject, much good may be expected to proceed, both as it pertains to the society, and as it affects the cause of truth in general. In rendering this service, we discharge simply our duty as journalists, and are concerned that no other parties should be held responsible for what we say. We speak in our own person, give utterance to our own convictions, and ask only for such a consideration of our statements and reasonings as truth and the fairness of the case require. Gross mis-apprehensions are prevalent, and we therefore owe it to our readers to disabuse them of any false impression they have received, and to convey to them the clearest and most accurate information which our own enquiries have obtained. Our position is a delicate one, and the obligations involved in it are such as, on some accounts, we should gladly be free from. Yet there are higher considerations to which we owe fealty, and we shall therefore proceed without fear to our task, endeavouring to observe the happy medium of speaking 'the truth in love.'

It might have been expected that a different course from that which we have witnessed, would have been pursued by some dissenters. Their professions appear to us to have committed them to it, while the interests of religion seem obviously to require an open and practical protest against the enormous wrongs done in her name, through the medium of a state-church. Whatever mis-conceptions therefore, attended the formation of the society, we had hoped that its calm and unobjectionable course—its enemies themselves being judges—would have served to abate hostility, and to draw within its pale all sincere adherents of scriptural Christianity. To some extent we have been disappointed. The founders of the society have indeed been confirmed in their conviction of the necessity of some such organization, new spheres of action are daily opening to it, the country is ripe for its labours, it has lived down much misconception and prejudice, and now numbers amongst its friends many, who were at first inclined to regard it with suspicion and regret. Still it is a fact, and we know not why the truth should not be spoken, that large numbers keep aloof from it; that reports to its disadvantage are industriously whispered in several circles; and that with some honourable exceptions, the more prominent members of the dissenting body throughout England, whether ministers or others, look upon it with disfavour, and systematically decline to take part in its proceedings. Whether this course be right or wrong,

we are not now concerned to say. We state facts only, and shall presently examine the pleas by which they are vindicated.

The constitution of the society is at once comprehensive and simple. It is defined without equivocation or complexity in the basis originally laid down, and cannot be mistaken by any dissenter who will give himself the trouble to examine. The society is antagonistic to one principle only. It has nothing to do with doctrinal theology, or with ecclesiastical forms; but leaving its members to follow out their own conclusions on these points, it seeks to combine them against the secular relation into which Christianity has been forced. It proclaims, so far as human authority is concerned, the voluntariness of religion: and calls, therefore, on all her friends to disengage themselves from that coercive power, which has sought to render her a mere tool in the hands of earthly rulers for the promotion of their secular ends. On ecclesiastical forms it has no views, and, therefore, inculcates none. It is neither episcopal, presbyterian, nor congregational; but invites the abettors of each to confederate against the common enemy of all. It assails no man's church, it condemns no man's theology; but, asserting the right of every man to worship his Maker according to the dictates of his own conscience, it proclaims the union of things ecclesiastical with things secular to be unauthorized and pernicious, a gross violation of the law of Christ, and a fearful engine of spiritual formality and ruin. Its whole mission is directed against the civil establishment of religion, and not, be it remembered, against the episcopalianism of the endowed sect; much less against the legitimate influence of religion over the councils and measures of rulers. Dissociate the episcopal church from the state, and withdraw from other religionists all grants of public money, and the work of the society, so far as England is concerned, would be accomplished. A three-fold order of the clergy may be right or wrong, but whichever view be held by individuals, the Anti-State Church Association is in no degree, and in no sense whatever, committed to hostility to it. Its efforts are directed against the *union*, and not against either of the contracting parties. To the State it is a dutiful subject, to the Church it looks with reverence and love, but it disavows the connexion created by Act of Parliament, and in the name of the Divine founder of Christianity, and on behalf of civil liberty too, it protests against its continuance.

Recurring to the earlier proceedings of the association, it is obvious to remark, that its progress was at first somewhat impeded by the legal obstructions which lay in its way. It could not avail itself of the ordinary machinery of auxiliary societies

with their local committees, on account of the laws pertaining to political associations. Like wise men entrusted with important interests, the committee felt that it became them to proceed with caution, and they therefore submitted a case to counsel in order to know what their course should be. Having ascertained the rule of law they determined to confine themselves within it, though serious difficulties were thus interposed, and their progress was rendered much slower than it would otherwise have been. If they have erred in this matter, it has been on the side of caution, and the strictness of their rule may probably be somewhat relaxed as they proceed.

Extensive publicity was given to the following suggestions, in which the machinery of the society is set forth. We commend them to the perusal of our readers, as adapted to remove some prevalent misapprehensions.

'The Executive Committee, having received many letters requesting information as to the best method of promoting the objects of the Association in the Metropolitan districts and in the Provinces, and having ascertained that local associations cannot legally hold communication with the British Anti-state-church Association, or even contribute to its funds, submit the following suggestions to their friends, as adapted to secure the greatest amount of union and practical advantage, without involving the legal liabilities which would otherwise be incurred.

'1. In order to bring the claims of the association fairly before the public, a Registrar to be appointed in each town, village, or other locality; and, where the extent of the population to be appealed to shall require it, a town or locality to be divided into well-defined districts, and a Registrar to be appointed to each of such districts.

'2. These Registrars, in every instance, to be enrolled members, and duly appointed by the Executive Committee as such officers of the Association.

'3. Except when themselves members of the Council, to be recommended, in writing to the Executive Committee by a member of the Council; or in the absence of any such person, by not less than five enrolled members of the Association.

'4. It is suggested that no individual should be recommended as eligible to become a Registrar who is not prepared to exert himself personally in promoting the objects of the Association.

'5. Each Registrar, on his appointment, to be furnished with a Registrar's book, in which he will keep a register of the names of all persons who have become members of the Association, with an account of their pecuniary subscriptions; and the Executive Committee, on receiving from individual Registrars a list of the names of members on their books, with evidence of their pecuniary qualification, will supply them with an equal number of member's cards, containing, respectively, the names of the members so reported.

'6. The pecuniary subscriptions obtained by the Registrars to be, at stated periods arranged by the Executive Committee, transmitted to the Treasurer of the Association'

'7. The Registrars of each locality to advise, from time to time, with the Executive Committee as to making arrangements for the delivery of lectures and the holding of public meetings, and for the promotion of the objects of the Association by other means; and the Executive Committee to hold themselves prepared to afford assistance, to the utmost extent of their means, opportunities, and ability, in giving efficiency to all such movements as may be adopted with their concurrence.'

With such a machinery, obviously deficient in much of the facility which characterizes the arrangements of other religious societies, the committee has been steadily and quietly at work. Its members fully appreciated the magnitude of the enterprize on which they had embarked. They were aware of the prejudices arrayed against them, and what was still more trying, had for a time to endure the sinister construction put on their views, by some whose cordial cooperation might have been anticipated. Few persons are aware of the time they have devoted, or the labours they have borne in the service of the society. Their meetings are weekly, and sub-committees commonly intervene.

Their first effort has been directed to the enlightenment of their own friends. Pledged by profession to the vindication of the spirituality of religion, the dissenters of these realms seem appointed by Providence to achieve the work of the Society. Free from the direct influences of an establishment by which the judgments of so many estimable men are warped, they are in a better condition to estimate its genuine character, and are at liberty to follow out their convictions by such modes of action as may seem to them befitting. On these therefore the earliest attention of the Society was fixed.

'The main efforts of the committee,' says the Report of May, 1845, 'have been directed, during the past year, to enlighten and to stir up professed, but apathetic Nonconformists. In the outset of their career they met with much coldness. As they proceeded, however, the number of their friends increased; and, now, the recent measure of Government has opened the eyes of thousands, dissipated their prejudices, convinced them of the perils by which their principles are threatened, and placed this Association in the proud position of having done its best, amidst much obloquy, to prepare Dissenters to weather the storm which assails them.'

Such an effort was felt to be due to the propriety of the case, and to be the appropriate vocation of the Society in the first

stage of its operations. The views theoretically held by Dissenters require only to be applied to action, in order to realize the discharge of a solemn religious duty, before which all mere secular interests and political designs will be compelled to give way. The materials for effective action are thus ready; men's judgments have assented to the truth, and their religious sympathies ought to be in living and practical association with it. All that is needed is to arouse them to action, to make them so feel the weight of their obligations, as that their theoretical protest against a State Church may be converted into strenuous efforts for its overthrow. That church is either in conformity or otherwise with the mind of their Lord; its influence conduces to the spread of his religion, or is hostile to it; it is the form which Christianity appropriately takes, or a veil behind which state-craft and priestly domination have effectually concealed her pure and spiritual nature. Protestant Dissenters hold to the latter of these views, and are therefore bound, by every means which consist with their religious calling, to seek the overthrow and destruction of the irreligious system about them. To recall them to their professions, and thus to admonish them of their duty; to apprise them of the extent of their obligations, the worth of their principles, the dignity of their position; to free them from the indirect influences of the dominant hierarchy, and to make them feel that it is a distorted and misshapen caricature of the church of Christ, a thing of earthly mould and passion, a sacrifice of the inward and spiritual in Christianity at the bidding of a crafty and selfish statesmanship, is the high calling, the religious vocation undertaken by the Association before us. The operations of the Society were appropriately commenced in London.

'The Committee judged it important'—we quote again from the Report of 1845,—'to commence action in the metropolis. They wished to demonstrate to their friends in the country their readiness to grapple, at starting, with that stolid indifference to great principles which is too truly supposed to characterise London and its neighbourhood. They were able, moreover, by such an arrangement, to do the most work at the least cost; and they believed that whatever warmth they might be able to excite in the heart of the empire, would quickly find its way to the extremities. They, therefore, made arrangements for the delivery of a series of lectures, in different parts of the metropolis, during the winter months. Some difficulty was at first experienced in obtaining the use of suitable chapels for the purpose—a difficulty which lessened as time wore on. The town was divided into eight districts—a local committee was appointed for each—and several lectures were delivered in every district, not in the same place of worship, but as often as possible in different

ones, in order that the audiences on every occasion might constitute fresh ground in which to scatter the seed of truth. Thirty-five lectures have been delivered, under this arrangement. The attendance upon these lectures was, of course, various; but it is gratifying to the Committee to be able to state that it steadily increased from the commencement—that, so far as facts have come to their knowledge, they have done not a little to create an interest in the proceedings of the Association—and that, at the close of each lecture, several new members were enrolled, and many copies of the Society's publications were disposed of.'

Similar lectures have been delivered in various other parts of the kingdom, and public meetings have been held at Bath, Bristol, Leicester, Northampton, Colchester, Nottingham, Derby, Sheffield, Birmingham, Coventry, and several other towns. The interest evinced has of course been various, but the general result has left no doubt of the country being fully ripe for the movement. We shall have occasion, before we close, to advert to some of the facts which have been elicited in the course of these deputations; and therefore content ourselves at present with this general statement. Were the resources of the committee equal to the invitations received, its deputations would be in every part of the country, and its stated lecturers be continually employed in setting forth the spirituality of the Christian church, and in exposing the secularity and profaneness of the counterfeit which has usurped its place. The popular mind of this kingdom has been powerfully roused during the past few years. Its inertness and indifference have been broken up, inquiry has been awakened, new convictions have been received; it is asking, and it needs some wise and healthful guidance in order to its finding rest within the province, and under the control of religion. The religious portion of the public have partaken in their full measure of this increased activity. Their principles are better understood, their obligations are felt to respect others as well as themselves, and a sense of duty to religion and of fealty to the church, is impelling many of them to adopt an aggressive policy towards that compound of things, secular and sacred, which political craft and religious error have called into being. Under these circumstances, the Anti-State Church Society wisely addresses itself, in the first place, to the religious, and especially to the dissenting, portion of the community. It seeks their enlightenment and invigoration, not simply on their own account, but as the medium through which general society must be addressed. Should it once succeed in combining the energies of an enlightened religious body in the sacred cause it has undertaken, the day of its triumph will not be distant. Before the moral force thus arrayed against the great apostacy, the powers

of evil will be compelled to retire. The mists which have concealed the fair form of Christianity will be dispersed. Her rectitude and purity, her simplicity of purpose and spirituality of character, will be conspicuous to all. The faults of her professors will be manifestly their own; whilst her native dignity and freedom from all earthly passion, will command the respect and confidence of mankind. At present she is regarded as the ally of a suspected power; the mere tool of statesmen, the counterpart in England of what paganism was at Rome, or Moham-medanism is in Turkey. We are far from asserting that a separation of the church from the state will be destructive of all the evils which afflict the former. Human nature is in too vitiated a state to admit of this. There are evils inseparable from it, which will show themselves under every conceivable condition of things. We plead, therefore, for such a separation, not as a panacea for all evil, but as a means essential to the due effect of religious ministrations; as the removal of a formidable obstacle out of the path of Christianity; as that which will give free scope to her energies, and hold out the prospect of her renewing those marvellous achievements which characterized her better days.

The publications of the society constitute an important department of its operations, to which some attention must be given. As the titles placed at the head of this article shew, they are specially adapted to the same class, and are composed in a spirit, and with a degree of ability, suited to the cause they advocate. During the past year, a monthly series has been issued, in which various points involved in the church controversy have been ably discussed. These tracts have been furnished by different writers, and it is both pleasing and instructive to observe amongst their authors, episcopalians, presbyterians, independents, and baptists. This is characteristic of the constitution of the society, which is the advocate of voluntaryism rather than of dissent,—the vindicator of the church's liberty from political craft and state patronage, rather than of the forms or creed of any seceding body. The measure of ability evinced in these publications, is, of course, various; but where all are so excellent, it would be unprofitable and invidious to make selection. Two of the writers, Matthew Bridges, and Francis William Newman, Esqrs., have had opportunities, not possessed by many of us, of observing the internal working and practical effects of the state church. Both of them are Oxford men, and we should be glad to see their enlightened, deep, and earnest convictions on the whole question, more extensively prevalent amongst the non-conformists of England. We look at the church system from a distance. We treat it as a theory, discuss its principles, reason

on its probable results, and are perpetually hampered by a concern to shield the inconsistencies of our fathers, or to protect from assault the weak points of our own polity. Hence the hesitation and half-heartedness, the contracted aim, the want of high and ennobling faith in their principles, so generally to be seen amongst our people. The reverse of this is observable with the gentlemen to whom we have referred. They have looked on the system itself as a living operating thing. They know its characteristics, have been reared amidst its influences, and by the simple force of fidelity to truth, have been compelled to renounce its radical principle. In the case of Mr. Newman—if we may be permitted the allusion—there is additional satisfaction derivable from his labours, on account of the contrast they furnish to those of his brother. The sale of the society's tracts has been considerable. Large impressions of each have been published, and several have reached a third, and some even a fourth edition. The sale has continued to increase up to the close of the year, and is at present, we are informed, in a more promising condition than at any former period.*

We shall not do more at present than barely allude to the publications which have been issued on the *Regium Donum* question, as we purpose, ere long, entering somewhat at length in a separate article on this subject. In the meantime, we content ourselves with remarking that, had the Anti-State Church Association done nothing more than issue the two pamphlets on this case, which bear its name, a good title to the gratitude of all consistent dissenters would have been established.

We are glad to perceive, by a recent advertisement, that the attention of the society is to be specially directed during the present year to the preparation of short tracts, written in a popular style, and adapted for gratuitous distribution. The design of the committee will be best understood from the advertisement itself, which we transfer to our pages, in the hope that beyond the information communicated, it may induce some of our readers to render literary aid to the design.

‘TRACTS FOR THE MILLION.

‘The Executive Committee having determined to issue, during the year 1846, in rapid succession, and in large numbers, a series of Short Tracts, adapted for popular reading, solicit the aid of persons conversant with the subject of State Churches, and able to illustrate the evils with which they are fraught in an attractive and impressive manner.

* The monthly series has been collected into a volume, and in this form should have a place in every dissenter's library.

'The Committee are prepared to pay a liberal price for such manuscripts as they may select for use, and engage to return, free of expense to the writers, those which they may not deem suited to their purpose.

'As a general rule, the Tracts must not be less than two pages, nor more than four pages, duodecimo.

'The subjects of the intended Tracts may be classed under the following general heads:

- The Common Sense of Voluntaryism.
- Corrupt Administration of Ecclesiastical Revenues.
- Inaction of Dissenters.
- Illustrations of Church Patronage.
- Demoralising Influence of Church Establishments.
- Anti-popular Character of State Churches.
- Injustice involved in State Churches.
- Impiety fostered by State Churches.
- The Church-Advowson Market.
- The State Church *not* the Poor Man's Church.
- State Churches Political Engines.
- State Churches as originating in Ecclesiastical Corruption.
- Facts illustrative of Episcopal Promotions.
- Ecclesiastical Nepotism.
- Special Character of the Established Church of England.
- &c. &c. &c.

'The Tracts may be composed in whatever form the writers prefer, whether prose or verse, essay, narrative, or dialogue.'

The Religious Tract Society has demonstrated the vast benefits attendant on a wide diffusion of brief expositions and enforcements of important truth; and the Anti-Corn-Law League, though in a different department, has acted on the same principles, with corresponding success. Now the church question is precisely the one which especially calls for such an agency, and promises the greatest result from its employment. A large proportion of our people are in the humbler walks of life. They have little leisure, and perhaps still less inclination for severe or protracted reading. The mass of our countrymen also are placed in circumstances still more unfavourable, and will remain wholly untouched, unless some such agency be employed. They never come to our places of worship; they either cannot or they will not read the more extended and formal expositions of our views; they know the minister of religion only as a state-paid functionary, and regard the church as little more than part of the machinery, by which the rich and the powerful keep the poor in a state of submission and dependence. Tracts are almost the only means of reaching such, and if the society realize its expectations of literary aid, this department of its labours will become one of the most effective in preparing the popular

mind not simply to acquiesce, but imperatively to demand, that that entire religious freedom be guaranteed by politicians ceasing to trifle with conscience, or to tamper with the church.

Thus far we have glanced at what the society is doing. Our object has been to acquaint our readers with the genuine character of its measures, that they may be qualified to judge for themselves on the claims it prefers to their support. Grievous misconceptions are prevalent, which we are desirous of correcting. While indisposed to claim for the association any virtue which it does not possess, we are unwilling that its reputation should be injured by unfounded charges, or its usefulness be diminished by a prejudiced and inaccurate view of its operations. Let it be judged of as it *is*, not as its opponents—whether churchmen or dissenters—represent it to be. Let its history be examined, its procedure be narrowly watched. Let the spirit which presides over its councils be fairly scrutinised, and its publications, lectures, and public meetings, be weighed in the balance of an impartial judgment, and then let friend or enemy say whether—allowing for the infirmities inseparable from human action—there has not been, in its proceedings, a remarkable exemption from those infirmities of temper and that violence of expression, which are too commonly incident to the labours even of the good. It is not for any association of erring beings to say they are impeccable; but of this we are assured—and in it the society may well glory—that the most complete and triumphant refutation of the evil prophecies which marked its commencement, and of the charges subsequently preferred against it, is to be found in the simple narrative of its doings. Let this be read with candour, and nine tenths of the odium attached to it will instantly disappear.

It is not, of course, surprising that such an association should be regarded with disfavour by the adherents of the State Church. This is a natural result of their position, and was anticipated from the first. Whatever be the primary element in the attachment of churchmen to their system, whether it be secular or spiritual, a regard to pecuniary interests, or a conviction of the special adaptation of its machinery to promote the religious welfare of the nation, the Anti-State Church Association cannot fail to be regarded with hostility. By the one class it is bitterly assailed in the spirit which animated Demetrius and his followers at Ephesus, when they excited popular tumult against the apostles, by the cry, 'Our craft is in danger;' and by the other it is denounced as subversive of religion, and tending only to infidelity. The motives of the former are purely secular, while those of the latter, though unenlightened and erroneous, are redeemed from reproach by their religious sincerity and earnest-

ness. The association is avowedly aggressive. There is no concealment or evasion on this point. Its constitution proclaims the fact in simple and intelligible terms, and the society itself must cease the very moment it abandons this principle, or condescends to temporize with the advocates of state churches. Believing the establishment principle to be unscriptural, it denounces it as such, calls error by its proper name, and summons the energies of religious people, to remove out of the way so fearful an obstruction to the full developement of Christian truth. It thus arrays against itself some of the most powerful influences which regulate human conduct. It is denounced by the politician as incompatible with the good order of society, by the holder of church livings as the advocate of public robbery, and by the sincerely religious, but misjudging, as the ally of infidelity and the friend of papal aggression. Now, to all this, the friends of the society had made up their minds,—they were prepared for it. It is what they looked for. It is nothing more than their predecessors had experienced, in exact proportion as they were faithful to their principles. Had it not occurred, they would have suspected themselves, and doubted the soundness of their position. The absence of such hostility would have been regarded as an omen of evil, a proof that they were not what they supposed themselves to be, a clear indication that truth had not yet been brought into close contact with error, nor the spirit of secularity and religious formalism been made to feel that it must retire, like the money-changers of old, from the temple, which its presence polluted.

To much, therefore, of the clamour which has been raised against the society amongst churchmen, we are not disposed to give heed. It will live its day, and must be suffered to die out. Truth cannot grapple with error without exciting the animosity of its adherents, and must therefore be content to endure, for a time, the hard names and passionate invectives which they utter. A steady perseverance will live down these things, and may ultimately command the gratitude of some who are now loudest in their condemnation.

There are, however, one or two misconceptions, to the correction of which a moment's attention may be given. It is supposed by some churchmen, including even the more evangelical, that our opposition to their system is incompatible with personal esteem and attachment to themselves. We are suspected of being influenced by something akin to personal hostility, or at least, of being so far under the influence of sectarian prejudice, as to be incapable of appreciating the religious worth and ministerial diligence of many clergymen. It is impossible to peruse the pages of 'The Record,' or those of 'The Christian

Observer,'—to say nothing of other journals,—without perceiving that they make the contest to bear much of a personal complexion.

From our hostility to their system, they infer, by a logic of their own, our hostility to themselves, as though no distinction could be made between systems and men, nor error be refuted without its advocates being abhorred. In the ministry of our Divine Master the sternest rebukes were associated with the tenderest compassion, and we claim for ourselves, *haud passibus æquis*, to follow his illustrious example. It requires no effort on our part to appreciate, and we feel no hesitation to avow our high estimate of, the personal worth and ministerial eminence of many clergymen of the established church. We are strangely ignorant of our own hearts, if we do not rejoice in their excellencies, recognise in them the spirit of our common Lord, and exult in their success. For that success we render thanks to the God of all grace, and humbly pray that our own spirits may partake in a larger measure of those influences which are so conspicuous in their lives. We could name men in whose presence we feel chastened and subdued, on whom the Spirit of the Lord so clearly rests, that the fact of their churchmanship has compelled us again and again to examine the grounds of our dissent. To differ from such men on points so vital, is to us matter of unaffected sorrow, and nothing could induce us to do so, but the views we entertain of the higher obligations due to truth. We believe them to be in error on the point in issue, yet we doubt not their sincerity, and love them for their Master's sake. Should the eye of a Baptist Noel, or of a Bickersteth, light on these pages, we pray them to give us credit for the sincerity with which we write. Party zealots may sneer at our profession, but the men whom we name will believe us, when we say that our strongest condemnation of their ecclesiastical system, is compatible with the fullest appreciation of their worth, and the most intimate sympathy with those common elements of Christian character, of which they so largely partake.

Another misconception prevalent amongst members of the establishment is, that the Anti-State Church Society is opposed to their church, and that its success would therefore involve the overthrow of episcopacy. To this we have already, in good measure, replied, and shall therefore content ourselves with a brief addition to what has been advanced. We distinguish between episcopacy and its incorporation with the state. The former may exist without the latter, and actually does so, in Scotland and America, to say nothing of other parts of Christendom. It is therefore possible to contend against the one, and yet to advocate the other ; to believe the incorporation

in question to be unscriptural and injurious, and, at the same time, to maintain the authority and advantages of a threefold order of clergy. Many episcopalians are members of the Anti-State Church Association, and amongst the authors of the tracts before us there is at least one, whose attachment to this form of ecclesiastical polity is as undoubted as his voluntarism is earnest. It is not, therefore, against episcopacy that the society contends, and if its whole object were accomplished to-morrow, those who are friendly to the appointment of bishops would be at perfect liberty to act on their convictions, and to retain for themselves the clerical orders and forms of worship which they prefer. Every man is entitled to act for himself in this matter, and we are free to avow our conviction, that if the episcopal church were relieved from its present subjection to secular controul, its fellowship would be rendered much purer, and its ministrations far more efficient. It might lose somewhat of its splendour; the fashion which now secures it the adhesion of the affluent and worldly might pass away; the pomp of its services might cease; and the more than suspicious lustre with which its dignitaries and temples are encircled, might be withdrawn. But on the other hand, and in the stead of all this, its internal purity would be enhanced, a vast accession to its moral power would be secured, the attachment of its members would be more enlightened, and their sympathy with it more earnest and deep. It would become, in such case, what at present it cannot assume to be, an agency obviously and *exclusively* devoted to the religious culture and benefit of mankind. Let the episcopal church take its rank with sister churches, eschewing both the patronage and the controul of the state; let its own members sustain its ministrations, and its glory be made to consist in its assimilation to the only standard of Christian duty, and the Anti-state Church Society has no contest or quarrel with it. It has often been to us matter of surprise that an episcopal secession from the establishment has not taken place. We are informed that there are difficulties in the way, arising from the very nature of episcopacy, which we confess our incompetency to appreciate. Could one of the bishops, we have been told, be induced to take part in such secession, it might be accomplished, but in the absence of this,—and who is so utopian as to expect it?—the thing is impracticable. If it be so, is not episcopalianism itself brought into question? Its fiercest opponent could scarcely advance a more fatal objection to it. We know that a secession is earnestly desired by some. Many lay members of the hierarchy are prepared for it, and we cannot but suspect that some of the more reflecting and pious of the clergy would rejoice to see their way clear to such a consummation.

We must now turn to a different class of objectors, and we confess that we do so with extreme reluctance. Nothing but a stern sense of duty could overcome our hesitation, for we love many of the brethren from whom we differ, and would more gladly use the language of commendation than of censure. Necessity, however, is laid upon us. We cannot evade the conviction that the time is come when the truth should be spoken with frankness, and the grounds of continued alienation from the Anti-state Church Society, on the part of many dissenters, be subjected to a candid and thorough investigation. We are not unaware of what we hazard; but come what may, on one thing we are resolved, as we shall avoid all bitterness, so we will clear ourselves from the guilt of concealment, when the utterance of truth is matter of Christian fidelity.

Now it is the fact that the Anti-State Church Society is opposed, either covertly or in open day, by very many of the leading members of the dissenting body in England. This is the case both with ministers and laymen, and it is true in relation to the provinces, as well as to London. There are, we need scarcely say, illustrious exceptions, men of distinguished name and worth, who take pride in its membership, and readily yield it their aid. But they *are* exceptions, so far, at least, as the most prominent, and in days gone by, the most influential class is concerned. In most cases the hostility is covert. It is a quiet, stealthy, unmanly thing. It deals in whispers, it insinuates objections, it impeaches motives, it misconstrues actions. It does not come forward with an open and truthful countenance to avow its dissent, but indulges, where impunity is secured, in sneers, which the feeblest may utter, and the least principled will be most ready to repeat. Let us not be misunderstood. We are not charging these sins upon all who keep aloof from the society. Many of them are too generous and noble-minded for such things. Whatever transgressions they commit, those who know, will at once acquit them of what is mean and disingenuous. They may be hasty, they may be proud, they may resent what they deem an impertinent intrusion on their proper sphere, but they cannot be guilty of the malpractices to which others resort. Their opposition will be erect and manly. It will show itself in open day, and will speak within the hearing of those whose wisdom it questions, or whose conduct it condemns. But there are some to whom the language we have used is applicable, and we employ it here, for the purpose of acquainting them with our knowledge of their procedure.

As a general fact, however, it has come out in the course of the visits paid to several places by deputations from the society,

that the leading ministers and private members of the dissenting body have kept entirely aloof. No matter how respectable the deputation might be, or how eminent its members in their respective denominations, the audiences addressed—and for the most part they have been numerous and enthusiastic—have not included those who in former days were the reputed leaders of dissent in their several localities. It is by no means an uncommon thing to forbid any announcement of the society's lectures. We have known instances in which a minister, seeing a notice bill of this kind in the hand of one of his deacons, has declared that if given out with the other notices, he should be compelled to speak against it from the pulpit. Such is by no means an exaggerated description of the state of things. The picture is far from being overcharged. It might have been made more sombre, but we have preferred to indicate merely, rather than narrate at large, what we know to have taken place in various localities.

In some instances, however, the feeling with which the society is regarded, is one of indifference simply. It is not the object of positive hostility, but is regarded with supineness and stolid neglect, as if its principles had no relation to the professions of dissenters, and its operations were as foreign from their interests as the dimensions of the remotest planet. This is not the case, we apprehend, with many of those who occupy prominent or influential positions amongst us. The views of such are more decided than the state of mind we now refer to admits of; but there are others, and, probably, a more numerous class, whose ecclesiastical training having been greatly neglected, they are indifferent to the truth, if, indeed, they understand it. It matters little to such, if their own religious quietism be respected, that the nature of Christ's kingdom is misunderstood, or his sovereignty invaded. They never trouble themselves to think seriously on the matter, but are rather surprised that others should deem the points at issue of sufficient moment to disturb their serenity, or to engage any portion of their time. The dissenterism of such is matter of accident rather than of principle. They have fallen upon it by chance, and not worked out their way to it by severe and prayerful study. There is little sympathy between them and some of the more obvious departments of religious duty. Their religion itself is defective in its range and vision, feeble in its power, and wholly inadequate to the requirements of the Christian standard. A more vigorous training of the intellect, and a profounder submission of the heart, will be the best corrective of so questionable a state of things. The points involved are too momentous, are too intimately allied with the purity of the church and the diffusion of her faith, to allow

of such supineness, without serious reflection on the intelligence or piety of those who evince it. Either the one must be sadly defective, or the other be strangely indifferent to the honour of Christ, to admit of such ignorance and carelessness.

It must not be supposed that pleas are wanting by which an attempt at least is made to justify the course adopted by many Dissenters. These are various, and we shall briefly examine a few. They have been somewhat modified in the course of the society's proceedings, and the reason of the change is obvious. In the early part of 1844, we heard a good deal about the ultraism, and violence, and political designs of its originators. Some, who are morbidly sensitive to any impeachments of the wisdom or consistency of their own procedure, were sufficiently loud in impugning the motives and misrepresenting the objects of the society's earliest friends. Its machinery was represented as covert, its purpose other than was avowed. Many evil things were uttered, and some were written, over which charity would throw her mantle, and to which we should not make this passing reference, were it not needful to an accurate understanding of the case.

The society arose from the strong impulse of the many, not from the councils of the few. It did not come forth from the high places of dissent, nor was it ushered into public life with that sort of patronage which was adapted at once to secure it good standing and respectability. There was no official air about it; nothing to conciliate our secretaries and committees, who might possibly suspect in the spirit of which it was the outward and visible sign, something ominous to themselves. It arose from the people, and its whole air and complexion befitted the region of its birth. It was a thing masculine and sturdy, not eschewing the graces of life, but mainly concerned for the honest and unfettered exhibition of the truth of God in reference to the kingdom and supremacy of his Son. It had long been felt by a large body of Dissenters, that something was wanting to the discharge of duty; something less selfish and more directly religious than the objects sought by our leaders; something which should vindicate religion from reproach by working out her redemption from the political thralldom in which she had been held. There was no disposition to underrate the value of what had been done. 'Practical grievances' were felt to be evils, and the demand made for their redress was deemed righteous and befitting. But there were other and holier things which claimed attention, and the conviction had long been deepening, that to these immediate attention was due. 'These things ye ought to do,' was the language addressed to 'practical grievance' men, but 'not to leave the other undone.' The

people waited long, and with deference, to see if their leaders would take this course, until at length despairing of their doing so, they met in the Conference of April 1844, in greater numbers,—and we need not hesitate to say, with more unanimity and earnestness than on any former occasion. Such was the origin of the Anti-State Church Society, and here lies the secret of much of the opposition it has had to encounter. We speak advisedly when we say this. We write in sorrow, not in anger, and our object in doing so is to put the case fairly and honestly before our friends, that they may judge between the Society and a large section of its impugnors. The parties by whom it was first advocated, and the locality in which the initiatory steps to its formation were taken, had more to do, we verily believe, with the hostility it encountered, than disapprobation of its principles, or of the agency by which it proposed to work them out. Had it been otherwise, a much larger number of those who stood aloof from its earlier movements, whilst they avowed attachment to its principles, would now be found amongst its members. As is remarked by the author of Tract No. 11, before us—

‘When this movement was merely anticipated and prospective, there might have existed some reasons for suspicion; but notwithstanding the prognostications of our opponents, from the opening of the Conference to the present hour, all has been calm—legal—religious—unimpeachable. There have been no ebullitions of a violent and intemperate bigotry; no kind of action has been taken that is not of long-established usage among Dissenters; no one among us has attempted to shake the foundations of social order by any new political doctrines; we have not laid ourselves open to state-prosecution. Our conduct ought long ago to have disarmed all the unworthy doubts of our brethren. There is not a Dissenter whose respectability of moral character or of worldly circumstances would have received the slightest shade of discredit by a connexion with us. Our proceedings are before the world, and to them we make our confident appeal. What cause, then, can be imagined, why those who hold our own acknowledged principles, and profess to be working for the same end, should deny us their co-operation? If our conduct cannot be impeached, why is it disavowed?’—p. 7.

We pass from this ungrateful topic without further comment, simply expressing our hope, that no dissenter will permit his future conduct to be regulated by a prejudice which facts prove to be unfounded, and which all candid men now shrink from avowing. It is however one of the mischiefs resulting from error induced by passion, that its influence is frequently prolonged after the error itself is renounced. May there be no ground

to suspect this in the case of a single member of the nonconformist body of England!

There are other, and more honourable, grounds of exception taken to the society. Some object to it on the plea of hostility to any organization having reference to the church controversy. We are not opposed, say such, to the principles of the society, on the contrary we fully concur in them and deem them of importance. In our respective spheres we advocate them, and will yield to none in our zeal on their behalf. We are, therefore, one with the society in this respect, nor do we object to it on account of our deeming the means employed questionable, or the spirit evinced censorious or unchristian. We have heard language of this kind. It has been addressed to us in vindication of neutrality, and is obviously relied on as a valid reply to appeals on behalf of the association. The number employing it is not, we apprehend, very numerous, but in some cases with which we are acquainted, it is enforced by great personal excellencies, and the sincerely religious tone in which it is uttered.

Now we confess it has always appeared to us most strange, that the propriety of organization should be questioned in one case only. The persons who urge the objection are amongst its foremost and most zealous advocates in other instances. They admit it to be wise and incumbent in many departments of Christian duty. On the platforms of Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Sunday School Societies, they are its eloquent advocates; nay, so fully possessed are they with a sense of its importance, that they urgently enforce it as the means of raising up an effectual barrier against the encroachments of Popery, and of giving the appearance, at least, of union to a divided and contentious church. Not merely is it advocated in the more simple and obvious departments of Christian duty, but in the case of *Protestant Unions* and of *Evangelical Alliances*, it is enforced with an earnestness which betokens the fullest reliance on its soundness and utility. Now it appears to us strange that grounds so opposite should be taken by the individuals in question. We cannot reconcile the discrepancy, nor remove from ourselves the suspicion that in many instances some other and more latent cause is operating, a cause unrecognized by the individuals themselves, but not the less potent on that account.

The Divine Founder of Christianity proceeded on a different principle. The basis of his church is laid in the social sympathies of man. Of these sympathies he sought to avail himself, in order to give permanence and effect to the religious convictions of his disciples. Our churches are so many organizations, in which each member is made to contribute to the maintenance of the fidelity of all others, and the largest result is

sought to be brought out by the simplest expenditure of means. Imitating his example, holy men have combined in every age, and the results of their combinations are visible in the phenomena of the moral world. What is there then, we ask, in the constitution and objects of the Anti-State Church Society, which renders improper in its case what is admitted to be wise and useful in all others? Is the evil against which it arrays itself less obvious or potent? Is its correction without the range of religious duty, or can it be effected so easily as to supersede the necessity for combination? We need scarcely reply to such enquiries. The answer is written in letters of fire, and he who runs may read. The evil assailed is of enormous magnitude, and of long duration. It has the sanction of age, and all the fearful aggravation which arises from its being confounded with the religion of the Bible. It operates directly on the religious sympathies of the nation, and does more to retard the progress of scriptural Christianity than any other cause which exists. Mr. Miall and Mr. Burnett, in their speeches at the London Tavern, on the 21st of November last, put this subject in a clear and masterly light, and we cannot do better than close our reference to it by an extract from the address of the latter.

‘This Society,’ said Mr. Burnet, ‘is feared because of its organisation. Why should the friends of Dissent be afraid of organisation in its favour, when that organisation is both lawful and scriptural? Who ever heard of the promotion of any good principle without organisation? Are principles to be diffused by anarchy? Assuredly not. But let us see what organisation is capable of doing from what it has really done. There was an organisation of the free-traders, and what was the consequence? Many of the public prints laughed at it; many of the members of parliament sneered at it; many of the persons who professed to regard the best interests of the country, professed to be afraid of the mischief that such an organisation would be likely to effect. But that organisation went on and on, till the leading journal of the empire declared it—opening its eyes wide to its vast extent—to be ‘a great fact.’ When it became a great fact, even the gentlemen in the legislature who professed to be against free trade turned round upwards of 700 articles subject to duty, and made a new tariff. Does any one suppose that, but for the great fact of organisation, Sir Robert Peel would ever have gone upon the principle he has been pursuing with regard to free trade?’

Organisation was got up in Ireland—it went on growing in influence and increasing in power over the people, until at last the very same politician began to veer round to it in a friendly way, and, without acknowledging it for a single moment, voted a large sum to the ecclesiastics that he thought might have the greatest influence in that organisation. If *you* do not organise, other people will. If they

do, they will succeed, and you will not; and, after all their organisations have succeeded, and you have been left to pay the piper, they will laugh at your simplicity. If you go on with your organisation, increase its power, and carry with you a moral tone that will command the kind feelings of the country at large, no minister of the Crown will dare despise you, and no statesman would think of it. He will venture, while you are at your up-hill progress, to laugh at the efforts you are making; but, when you have reached the summit, and he has a full view of your numbers and strength, and sees that the spectators are surveying your array, he will begin to take measures for the purpose of meeting wishes so boldly and so manfully avowed, so peacefully and so morally and religiously sustained, so widely spread, and so deeply impressed upon the community. Let us not for a moment suppose that, without such organisation we could take any successful steps in the cause in which we have been moving.'

Another objection to the association is founded on what is deemed its ultra character. This is advanced by many who do not sympathize with the former plea. They admit the propriety of organization, but would limit it to what they call practical questions. Grievances, they say, exist; social rights are impinged, wrongs are perpetrated, and it is both reasonable and Christian-like that the legislature should be invoked to grant protection and redress. Now we have nothing to say against this, but are quite ready to join in any well-considered application for the removal of the disabilities under which, as dissenters, we labour. But the case is far different when we are called on to substitute such an application, for that exposure of the inherent viciousness of the church system to which the society in question addresses itself. Here we are compelled to pause. The course indicated is, in our judgment, more than questionable; and we should be faithless to our sense of duty, and reckless of the best interests of our fellow men, if we adopted it for a moment. The aggressive character of the association is its cardinal virtue. We love it mainly on this account, and when the mists of prejudice and the passions of the hour have passed away, it will be admitted by all true-hearted and consistent dissenters, to be its distinguishing and imperishable glory.

'I am not one of those (says Dr. Wardlaw, and we quote his words as more likely to command respectful attention than our own) who think that particular existing grievances should be disregarded, and quietly submitted to, till this great master grievance shall itself have been removed; but, while every effort is made to rid yourself as speedily as possible of the one,—*never, oh never, let the other be lost sight of. Keep it before the public mind; keep it before the minds of*

our legislators. *Let all legitimate means, ever in the spirit of the gospel and of the spiritual kingdom of which its principles are the basis, be perseveringly employed, for imparting the light which may be necessary to both; and especially, to that portion of the community, whom, more than all others, it ought to be our sincere and earnest desire to convince and to conciliate, our fellow-Christians of the established churches of our country,—the many ‘excellent of the earth’ that are to be found in them both. They are one with us in the best and most permanent bonds—the bond of Divine truth and Divine love. Let it be our aim to induce them to bring the system with which they now stand associated to the test of the only standard of principle, the only statute book of the kingdom of Christ. I feel the deepest, the most assured and settled conviction, that, if you can successfully accomplish the great object of the disseverance of the Church from the State, you will be the instruments of bestowing upon her a richer boon than any it has pleased Providence to confer since the period of the Reformation; and will have done a greater service to the interests of Divine truth, than, under the superintendence of its gracious Author, has been effected by his servants and people, since the same period. May I entreat you to commit and to pledge yourselves, individually and collectively, in the name of your common Master, the Divine ‘Captain of your salvation,’ to this great cause; and to go forth to the accomplishment of your end in his armour, and in his spirit, under the banner of his cross. SUB HOC SIGNO VIN- CETIS. The crisis is come. No one who holds the principles we have been advocating, can consistently stand neutral. NEUTRALITY IS DE- SERTION. The voice of Him to whose authority we bow, as the only Lord of the conscience, says to us emphatically, by his word, and by all the signs of the times—‘HE THAT IS NOT WITH ME IS AGAINST ME!’*

The charge of ultraism, under some form or other, has been preferred in every age against the advocates of truth. It is the common refuge of the abettors of error, and of those, also, who being themselves enlightened, are unprepared for the labours and sacrifices involved in the service of truth. It was advanced against Luther in the earlier days of the Reformation. It was charged upon Cartwright, not only by Parker and Whitgift, but by Coverdale and Fox; and when Barrowe and Greenwood advocated the polity of independency, it was equally alleged against them by the followers of Cartwright. In the Westminster Assembly, the *Dissenting Brethren* were continually exposed to the charge; and in more recent times, the founders of Methodism were reprobated on this account. To refer to other and mixed questions, it is within our own recollection, when the demand for *total and immediate emancipation*, raised in the Anti-Slavery Society by some of its more forward members, was deemed ultra and unadvised, even by our Macauleys and Buxtons. In a second and more recent case, we need scarcely say what dismay was

excited, when the entire abolition of the whole system of corn laws was first advocated by Colonel Thompson.

In the charge of Ultraism, therefore, we see nothing from which to shrink ; and all that is requisite to the triumphant vindication of the Society is the justification of the object at which it aims. Let that be approved, and we fearlessly challenge the whole world to deny that, within the range of Christian principle, the simplest, most direct, and speediest method of accomplishing it, is the best. If the community, as is alleged, be not prepared for the discussion of such a theme, what have dissenters been doing for the last two hundred years? But we deny the fact, and point to those signs of the times which the most cursory observer must have noticed. Events of which our fathers never dreamed, have passed before us with astonishing rapidity, and all thoughtful men are avowing the conviction that the church question is destined next to occupy the public mind. Let the bread tax monopoly be abolished, and it will instantly be seen whether the Anti-State-Church Society has been born out of due time.

Another objection urged against the Society is its alleged tendency to irritate members of the Establishment and to call forth on its behalf, more strenuous exertions, than could otherwise be made. What have you accomplished say these objectors, by the outcry you have raised? Have you increased the number of dissenters, or weakened the force of the Church? Have you induced any of the clergy to secede, or won from a reluctant legislature a greater measure of respect? On the contrary, have you not driven from the ranks of dissent many of our wealthiest supporters, and induced liberal churchmen, formerly accustomed to contribute to our societies, to refuse further assistance? Is it not the fact that many of our poorer members have been seriously injured by the withdrawal of the secular patronage of churchmen, and that in small towns and villages especially, the very name of dissent has become so odious as to render it extremely difficult for many of our people to 'provide things honest in the sight of all men?' To the truth of some of the facts implied in these queries we are painfully alive, and they have served on some occasions to check us for a moment, whilst we have searched anew into the grounds of our procedure. We attach little importance to the secession of mere wealth. Not that we would drive it from us recklessly. It is not a thing to be despised, for under proper guidance, and in due subjection to religious principle, it may be auxiliary to vast and beneficial results. But we have always calculated on the secessions which have occurred. From the first agitation of the Church question, we felt assured that the mere men of wealth amongst us would seek

repose in the quietism of an established faith. While things moved on tranquilly and a truce was observed between dissenterism and the State-church, old associations kept them where they were. But the moment that principle was insisted on, and conscience appealed to, our hold was weakened, and the common refuge house of the indifferent and secular received them beneath its shelter.

It is however with far other feelings that we advert to the condition of many of our poorer and more dependant members. They are emphatically sufferers for conscience sake, and are entitled to our deepest sympathy. Instances of worldly deprivation and discomfort are perpetually occurring. Shops are deserted, employment is withdrawn, and even the pittance which charity has provided, is withheld from the poor under the bidding of an intolerant bigotry. The spirit of persecution is yet rife in this land, and if it do not shew itself in the imprisonment and murder of its victims, it is in deference to the state of public feeling, and not from any amelioration of its own temper. So far however as these facts are made to bear against the Anti-State-Church Society, two things are to be noted. First, the secessions and the persecutions alluded to are not the product of the last ten years, and cannot therefore be rightfully attributed to the Society in question. They existed long before it, and are amongst the elements which led to its formation, rather than the results which have flowed from it. They may be traced clearly back to the first movements of dissenters for the redress of their practical grievances, and had become the established order of things 'ere the Anti-State-Church Society reared its head amongst the institutions of the land. Secondly, they are only analogous to what has occurred in all similar cases. This consideration does not of course diminish the evil to our suffering brethren. We do not advance it with this view. It would be idle and ungenerous to do so. But we do say, addressing ourselves to those by whom the objection is raised, why urge it in this case, when you admit it to be invalid in a hundred others? Did not our protestant fathers thus suffer in the days of Mary, the puritans in those of Elizabeth, and the nonconformists during the reigns of the second Charles and James? And if so, why, and on what fair principle, do you require us to abandon our controversy with the power which now exalteth itself against the truth of God? You retain in honour the memory of our puritan and nonconformist predecessors, though they held to truth notwithstanding the suffering which its advocacy involved, while at the same time you condemn and reprobate us, for acting on their principle. Take heed to yourselves that you are not identified with those who in ancient days built the tombs of the

prophets and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, while they filled up the measure of their fathers' iniquities.

The lesson we derive from the facts in question is the very reverse of that which these objectors inculcate. Instead of relaxing, we would increase our efforts; instead of prolonging, we would seek to abbreviate as far as possible, by the vigour and effectiveness of our labours, the regenerating process which is going on. No great evil whether in the human frame or in the body politic, has ever been corrected without much suffering, and it is the dictate of kindness, as well as of wisdom, to effect the change with the least possible delay. Instead therefore of being deterred by an apprehension of the augmented power of the hierarchy, we challenge and invite it. Let it be put forth to the utmost. Let us see its whole length and breadth. Let it summon to its aid whatever auxiliaries it may command, and embody its inherent viciousness in every form of annoyance and persecution to which its adherents can stoop. We are prepared for all, and fear not the issue. While the system reposed in tranquil possession of power, we were unapprized of its wickedness, and dreaded not its misdeeds; but now that it has come forth and challenged attention, the marks of the apostacy are visible on it, and its own spasmodic efforts, whatever suffering they may inflict for a time, will only hasten the hour of its death. Our great difficulty was to drag it into light. This once accomplished; the doom which it merits, will speedily be pronounced by the common sense and religious feeling of the people.

There is yet one more objection to which we must advert, and we regret that our limits are already so far exceeded as to prevent our doing so as fully as we desire. The society it is alleged is unfriendly to the union of Christians, is incompatible with that fellowship of the saints which is so obviously accordant with the will of our Lord. This is a grave accusation, one which we would not treat lightly, and which if substantiated would make us pause in our career. Is it then so? Let us look fairly at the facts of the case, and see how the matter stands. We believe in the spirituality of religion, and therefore repudiate state control and patronage. In our judgment, grievous wrong is done to Christianity by political men being permitted to tamper with its interests, and we, therefore, require, on its behalf, that it should be left as its Divine Founder bequeathed it, unrepressed in its energies and unsecularized in its spirit. In these views we differ from many estimable men. On the points in dispute we believe them to be in error, yet we revere their virtues, and rejoice in them as 'fellow heirs of the grace of eternal life.' Where we are agreed, there is no obstacle to fellowship

on our part, and where we differ, we refer them, as they also must refer us, to our common Lord. We love them as brethren, notwithstanding what we deem their error. The two are clearly distinguishable, and in a practical recognition of this fact lies the germ of Christian fellowship. What then is there in these views,—and they are clearly those of the Anti-State Church Society—which is subversive of Christian Union, or incompatible with the fellowship of the saints?

If our brethren of the Establishment, whom we deem in error, or others amongst ourselves speaking on their behalf, require in order to fellowship a surrender of our convictions, or even a temporary suppression of them, then we maintain that they misapprehend its nature, and though unwittingly, are in reality inviting us to the abandonment of truth and the neglect of conscience. If our views of the church system are correct, and of course their practical obligation on ourselves is as if they were so—then nothing must intervene between them and the most strenuous efforts for its overthrow. It is matter of duty, of solemn and imperative duty, that we vindicate the supremacy of our Lord, and drive from his temple the formalism and secularity which have rendered it a charnel-house, rather than the home of purity and love.

This question has had a practical application recently given to it, in the suspension, for a time at least, of our controversy with the Establishment, which has been advocated by some members of the *Evangelical Alliance*. The professed object of this alliance is so admirable, and the views of some of its promoters are so high-toned and noble, that we have hesitated greatly to give utterance to our misgivings.

From the first, however, we have regarded the position of its clerical members as anomalous and inconsistent, and what has recently appeared in the columns of *The Patriot*, has confirmed us in the apprehension that some of our own number regarded the movement as virtually involving a surrender of the church controversy. This is obviously the view taken by its chairman, Sir Culling Smith, and though we would not hold the incipient association responsible for what individual members may advance, it is yet ominous of evil when such opinions as he advocates are broached by persons in office. The correspondence between the honourable baronet and Dr. Campbell is pregnant with instruction, and we counsel our readers to 'mark, learn, and inwardly digest' it. We thank the latter for the service he has rendered, and fully appreciate the moral courage it evinces. That his brethren will sustain him in his editorial course cannot be doubted for a moment. To fail in this would be their disgrace, not his, and the loss would be exclusively their own.

Our space compels us to close, and we do so by an earnest invitation to all our readers to give the Anti-State Church Society—its constitution, past procedure, and present prospects—their thorough and candid attention. We ask for it nothing more than this, and we can be satisfied with nothing less. Its condition is more hopeful than ever. Instead of languishing and dying out like some other societies, it is now more prosperous than at former periods. The country is awakening to its worth, and he who would not lag disgracefully behind his fellows, must speedily be found within its ranks.

Brief Notices.

A Treatise on Moral Freedom; containing Inquiries into the Operations of the Intellectual Principles in connexion generally with Moral Agency and Responsibility, but especially with Volition and Moral Freedom. By William Cairns, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Belles Lettres in Belfast College. London: Longman, 1844.

AFTER the publication of the immortal work of Jonathan Edwards, that creature of pure intellect, there was a pause in the controversy. The literary world suspended its conflict, just as the terrific explosion of the ship *L'Orient*, in the bay of Aboukir, produced for a time an appalling silence among the thundering squadrons. But the contest has been renewed with energy in America: the works of Upham and Tappan, of Day and Woods, of Rauch and Schmucker, are all marked by acuteness and power. The sentiments of President Edwards are freely canvassed and boldly controverted by his recent antagonists. The question will suffer nothing by renewed discussion, in our own country, whether Reid, Stewart, Brown, Mackintosh, and Ballantyne, are to be vindicated or overthrown.

Dr. Cairns has entered on this *questio vexata* with a calm and unbiassed judgment, and with a good and honest heart. The tone and temper of a mere partisan are never seen in his pages. Truth is his object, and while the opinions of former authors are allowed their legitimate influence, they are neither slavishly followed, nor pertinaciously rejected. His purpose is to give an impartial verdict. Nor has he published a mere *rifacimento* of former essayists. His style of treating the subject is somewhat novel. We scarcely expect originality on a topic which seems to have 'exhausted thought': yet we have been entertained in this volume, both with original ideas and an originality of known ideas to the solution of the grand inquiry. Professor Cairns takes a wide circuit of investigation. He has commenced with a perspicuous and able account of those mental principles and emotions, with the exercise of which moral freedom

is intimately connected. The nature of volition and motive is then fully and carefully examined, and in some points these subjects are placed in a new light. Still cautiously approaching the great topic of dispute, the author enters at length into a description of the elements of moral freedom, indicating as he proceeds what side he is prepared to take. Part v. takes up the momentous theme of a self-determining power, or a power of proper origination in the will. Here the author comes into hostility with Edwards, and, in an elaborate and ingenious argumentation, decides against him. We do not intend to enter into any discussion on this most difficult of metaphysical problems, or we might attempt to show that in the wide sweep of argument and analysis which the author has taken, he has sometimes enlisted on his side intellectual processes and principles, which can be better explained and developed by the adoption of what are usually though scarcely correctly termed necessarian views. At the same time, we are bound to state that Dr. Cairns fairly meets, if he does not overthrow, every opposing argument, while he naturally concludes that his view of the subject solves many difficulties, which on any other hypothesis are all but inexplicable. Our purpose, however, in this brief notice, is principally to call attention to the publication of this important treatise. It deserves consideration. Its author is a man of matured intellect, who has long had familiar acquaintance with this and collateral topics. They have been the study and pleasure of his life. From his chastened sobriety of mind, though he can probe a theory with acute and delicate analysis, he is not bewildered in his own subtleties, nor, from constitutional sagacity, or early Scottish training, is he ever seduced by the creations of a sanguine fancy. What he writes, he writes with circumspection and clearness. His style certainly excels that of many similar works, being natural and free from involutions. We have been constrained to say much of this new treatise on an old theme, though we more than suspect that we must rank ourselves with the antagonists of Dr. Cairns, and the libertarian hypothesis.

The Nonconformist. Vol. vi. New Series.

THE dissenters of Great Britain owe much to the *Nonconformist*. It will be difficult for them to repay their obligations, and we envy not either the taste or good feeling of the man, who deems the debt discharged by any real or alleged imperfections in its conduct. Of the ability with which it has been carried on, there can be but one opinion, and on the question of its fidelity the verdict must be equally unanimous. An advertisement has just been issued, announcing the commencement of a new series, of which we gladly take advantage to urge our friends to benefit themselves by becoming its constant readers. We need not say that the principles of the journal will remain unchanged. The character of the editor is an ample guarantee for this, and we need no other; but in the general tone of

the paper, a modification is announced, which will materially contribute to its circulation and usefulness.

'The spirit in which these great objects will be pursued, (says the editor) will be the same as before—a high appreciation of the ends at which it aims, and an earnest desire to compass them by peaceful and legitimate means. The pervading tone, however, of the paper, it is proposed to modify. The *NONCONFORMIST* has established its character both for integrity and power; and the circumstances under which this has been accomplished, imposed upon it the necessity of taking an antagonistic attitude. It has had to do battle for its present position of strength—but that position having been made good, it can henceforth wield gentleness with effect. Recognised as having a right to speak, and a claim to be listened to, it will speak in the accents of faithful friendship.'

We love the high tone and candour of this passage. It is the language of a man whose heart bears witness to his integrity, and who reverts with entire complacency to the use of a milder and more courteous style, immediately that his sense of duty permits his doing so. There is also to be a greater variety of literary talent, and a fuller adaptation of the journal to the requirements of the family circle.

We shall be glad to find that the circulation of this series is equal to its merits. Should it be so, the *Nonconformist* will become the companion and adviser of every intelligent dissenter in the kingdom.

History of the English Revolution of 1640: from the Accession of Charles I. to his Death. By F. Guizot. Translated by William Hazlitt. London: David Bogue.

THIS volume constitutes the second of the *European Library*, and its dimensions and style of execution have increased our astonishment at the low price of the series. M. Guizot's two octavo volumes, printed in a neat and handsome style, for three shillings and six-pence, may well surprise the old fashioned class of readers. But who can say where we shall stop in these days of railroads and steam. Unquestionably the *European Library* is the cheapest series ever yet offered to the British people, and we trust that its circulation will correspond with its merits. Nothing short of a very large sale can reimburse its publisher, and we confidently predict that this will not be wanting. The present translation has been constructed on the principle of giving the author's meaning as nearly as possible in his own words. The authorities referred to have been examined, and an ample index, which contributes materially to the value of the work, is supplied. Having formerly reviewed, at considerable length, M. Guizot's History of our noblest Revolution, we need not attempt any description of it now. Our judgment is recorded, and to that we refer our readers.

Proceedings of the Anti-Maynooth Conference of 1845. With an Historical Introduction and an Appendix. Compiled and Edited, (at the request of the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee,) by the Rev. A. S. Thelwall, M.A. 8vo. London. Seeley, Burnside, & Co.

THERE are few things which we disapprove more thoroughly than the one-sidedness which distinguishes a large portion of the periodical press, whether literary, political, or religious. The fault is chargeable on the last equally with the other two, and if needful we could specify some striking instances. We know cases in connexion with the religious and even the dissenting periodical press, in which no notice has been taken of publications regularly forwarded through an extended period, notwithstanding that such publications were devoted to the elucidation and defence of the principles professed, and were admitted on all hands to be unexceptionable in point of spirit. So far as the journals in question are concerned, the public would never learn—save through their advertising sheet—that such productions had issued from the press. Not a word is said about them. They are neither blessed nor cursed;—the one sole object appearing to be to prevent the fact of their existence from being known. There is a cause for all this, and the time may come when the interests of truth will require the mystery to be solved. This, however, we shall do with regret, and in the mean time are content to show to our contemporaries ‘a more excellent way’.

The volume before us records the proceedings of a body which, from the first we deemed unsound in constitution and likely to prove injurious in its influence. Our convictions have been deepened by the result, and much labour is now entailed on our successors to remove the false impressions which have been made on the public mind. We rejoice, however, in the appearance of this report, and hasten to notify to our readers the fact of its publication. We differ, of course, from the editor in many of the views he has stated, yet we should be faithless to our convictions if we did not state that, with those views, he has executed his task with no inconsiderable measure of candour and fairness. The volume consists of an Historical Introduction, of 190 pages, and a report of the Sitzings of the Conference, and a list of its Members, extending to 232 pages more. It is on the whole, a valuable record, of which the future historian of our ecclesiastical proceedings will gladly avail himself. We recommend its attentive perusal to all classes, assured that truth will ultimately gain by a calm and impartial examination of the discussions it records. When the excitement of the moment has passed, men will be in a better and more hopeful mood for separating the chaff from the wheat. We are but in the first stage of the great controversy, and much will be gained by distinguishing truth from error.

My Sonnets. pp. 72. Greenwich: Richardson.

PLEASING versification; without much power of thought or imagination.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part XII. London: Charles Knight.

THE original design of this publication is happily carried out in the parts which have appeared. They are specially adapted to interest and instruct the young. The eye is made to assist in the enlargement of knowledge and the culture of the mind, and it would be difficult to point out a work in which the *utile* and the *dulce* are more happily blended.

The Domestic Bible. By the Rev. Ingram Cobbin, M.A. London: Thomas Arnold.

MR. Cobbin must surely possess a most inventive genius, and one moreover which has been gradual in its development. There appears to be no end to his editions of the Bible, and each one in its turn is, of course, superior to all others. This may be quite true, but we are free to confess that we greatly prefer the improvement of former works, to the multiplication of new ones, by the same author. The present work has, however, distinct features, some of which are attractive and useful; and it is, moreover, issued at so low a price as nothing but an extensive circulation can justify. It is published on the 1st and 15th of every month, and is not, when completed, to exceed twenty shillings. The present part contains the Pentateuch; and, with the reservation hinted above, it has our cordial good wishes.

The Juvenile Missionary Keepsake, 1846. Edited by the writer of 'Madagascar and its Martyrs.' &c. &c. 12mo. pp. 146. London: John Snow.

THIS little volume, without pretension to literary merit, is calculated to please as well as to improve the hearts of our youthful readers. Some of its contents are exceedingly interesting, and the form in which they are presented is well suited to the juvenile class addressed.

The Voluntary. No. 61. London: Ward and Co.

A SMALL monthly periodical, devoted, as its title imports, to the elucidation and defence of religious liberty. It was formerly, we believe, the organ of the *Evangelical Voluntary Church Association*, but having survived the decease of that society, is now maintained by the enterprise and public spirit of an individual. We cordially commend it to the favour of our readers, as a useful auxiliary to the cause of religious truth. We shall be glad to find that its circulation is much extended.

Forest and Game Law Tales. By Harriet Martineau. Vol. 1st and 2nd. Moxon.

THESE are two delightful little volumes. The first, containing four tales, illustrative of the earlier working of the forest and game-laws; and afford us vivid glimpses of rural life in Saxon, and in Norman times; while the third presents a noble episode in the history of the barons' struggles for the great charter; and the fourth, a spirited sketch of the times of Charles I.

In the second volume we have illustrations of the more modern period, as exemplified in three stories of the deer-stealer, the poacher, and the farmer, ruined by a game-preserving landlord; each of them most powerfully and effectively written.

As the present volumes will so shortly be followed by the remaining one, we must content ourselves for the present with this brief notice, and await the publication of the whole, to introduce more at length to our readers, a work which bids fair in interest and importance to rival the best productions of this gifted writer.

The Maxims of Francis Guicciardini. Translated by Emma Mary. With Parallel Passages from the Works of Machiavelli, Lord Bacon, Pascal, Rochefaucault, Montesquieu, Mr. Burke, Prince Talleyrand, M. Guizot, and others. London: Longman and Co.

AN elegant little volume full of noble and instructive thoughts, for which we are greatly obliged to the fair editor. As a pocket companion—or friend, to be occasionally consulted, it is surpassed by very few.

History of the Reformation in the Sixteenth Century. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D.D. A new Translation, by Henry Beveridge, Esq. With a Portrait of Luther. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 326. Glasgow: W. Collins.

D'AUBIGNE's History of the Reformation, in three neat volumes, printed with a clear type and on good paper, for four shillings and sixpence! What may we not see next? So it is, however; and the first volume of such an edition, published at one shilling and sixpence, is now before us. The emendations of the last Paris edition, revised by the author, are introduced, and another circumstance which eminently fits Mr. Collins's edition for popular use is the translation, where necessary, of the Latin notes, which brings a large amount of useful reference and illustrative information within the reach of the English reader. Nothing short of a very extensive circulation can reimburse the publisher, and the reading public will fail to see their own interest if they do not secure him this.

Christian Devotedness; or Memorials of Mrs. and Miss Palmer, of Newbury. By Henry March. pp. 121. Simpkin.

A SHORT account of two amiable and intelligent Christians, written with more sense and delicacy than always mark such publications.

The Law a Rule of Life to the Christian, considered in Eleven Lectures on the Decalogue. By the Rev. Charles Smith Bird, M.A., F.L.S. pp. 288. Cleaver.

WE should not agree with Mr. Bird on the subject of his church, than which he 'believes in his heart' 'no church ever yet better deserved confidence' But we gladly allow that he has put a good deal of really sound theology into words of right nervous Saxon. We commend the style to others who may aim at more intellectuality than marks these lectures. — —

1. *The Claims of Mind.* A Lecture. By W. Leask. pp. 22. London: Jackson and Walford.
2. *Evangelical Dissenters, God's Witnesses.* By the same Author. pp. 16. Jackson and Walford.
3. *The Christian Theocracy.* A discourse delivered at the settlement of the Rev. J. S. Cuzner, Horsingsham, Wilts. By the same author. pp. 18. Houlston and Stoneman.
4. *The Character of the True Church.* By the same author. pp. 23. Houlston and Stoneman.

MR. LEASK is favourably known as the author of some poetical works, which have received the seal of public approval. But this circumstance must not be allowed to excite a prejudice against his prose productions. They are perfectly free from all traces of the sentimentalism that too many of our modern poets cultivate as a grace. The principles are sound and healthful; the question is never suggested, 'What does he mean?' and the style is correct, vigorous, and flowing. Most of the pamphlets, whose titles we have given, are occupied with different bearings of dissenting principles; and while we would not guarantee the force of every argument, nor the fitness of every illustration, we unhesitatingly avow our conviction that they embody sterling truths, in a form calculated to arrest attention, and promote faith.

One word as to the contents of these publications. 'The Claims of Mind' we judge the best of them. It is an intelligent and fervent advocacy of mental culture from *the original dignity of mind; its amazing susceptibility of improvement; the fearful consequences of leaving it uncultivated; and the glorious designs of its Creator respecting it.* 'Evangelical Dissenters God's Witnesses,' is a bold and well-sustained assertion of the following points, *that evangelical truth requires witnesses from among the beings to whom it is revealed; that dissenters have, from their position, peculiar facilities of distinguishing evangelical from heterodox doctrine; that facilities of discrimination involve correspondent accountability; that therefore evangelical dissenters are God's witnesses; and that these times summon them to declare the whole truth.* 'The Character of the True Church' treats of *its divine institution; the spirituality of the purposes for which it is founded; and its friendly influence on mental enlightenment, political justice, and human liberty.* 'The Christian Theocracy' is, of all the pamphlets, least to our liking. We do not think the title can be justified. There is no theocracy

now. Nor is the main idea developed and sustained as fully as it might have been.

On the whole, we wish Mr. Leask good success. He is worthy of being read and heeded.

The Church, or a dream of the Past and the Future. A Poem for the Times. By Clericus, M.C.C.S. With an Address to the Clergy. pp. 55.

DREAMS are a bad sign. As physical phenomena, they are tokens of no good, often denoting disease or overfeeding; and as intellectual and moral phenomena, they are indications of similar things of an intellectual and moral nature. When men dream, they are neither asleep nor awake. It imports a state of intermediate stupefaction—absence of proper consciousness, and inability to rest. That our author's effusions may be thus accounted for, will appear from a short specimen of his poetry and his prose. The last may be fairly quoted for this purpose, as doubtless it was written soon after the 'dream,' and before the eyes were wide awake.

'There never was a time when the multiplied agencies of evil were so incalculably numerous, and so alarmingly active as they are at present. Dissent is sending forth its argus-eyed missionaries and schism-sowing teachers to the utmost ends of the earth. Socialism is convulsing society with its abominable dogmas. Infidelity, under other names and more attractive forms, is sapping the morals of our youth, and crushing in their young hearts all love for the good, the beautiful, and the true. Radicalism bids fair to become the moral lever which shall convulse the world, and shatter the last remains of the much-honoured institutions which antiquity has handed down to us, which our forefathers venerated, round which our hearts have fondly clung, and which we would fain have transmitted to our children, restored to their pristine glory, rather than deprived of that small portion of it which still lingers round them like sunshine upon graves. But alas! we are fallen on evil days.'—Address pp. xi. xii.

As to poetry—'thus he'—

'There sainted Laud
Thy venerable spirit rests sublime
Upon the peaceful bosom of thy God.
Thy earthly pilgrimage of woe exchanged
For an eternity of tranquil joy.
The martyr's anguish for the martyr's bliss—
The martyr's cross for heaven's unfading crown.
Oh! that upon this sad degenerate age
Some portion of thy spirit might descend!
Some spark of that celestial fire which burnt
With such intensity within thy breast,
Firing thy soul to deeds that merit heaven!'—(p. 35.)

After this, our readers will not wonder at the information that the Covenanter was '*the Thug of polished life,*' or that dissent is '*the abortion of the wicked one, and veriest child of hell.*' Of such 'stuff' is this dream 'made of.' Next to 'having' such 'a dream,' is the 'telling' it. Only one consolatory fact is left to us, that dreams are often more correct signs of men's real character than their waking acts. Here it is clear enough what our author really thinks and feels, and *would be at.*

Twelve Hundred Questions and Answers on the Bible ; intended principally for the use of schools and young persons. By M. H. and J. H. Myers. 2 vols. pp. 98, 132. Longmans. 1845.

OUR readers must not rank this book with the mass of catechetical productions, which are worth little or nothing. The information presented is considerable. The questions are miscellaneous. Theology is avoided. It will be found useful and instructive to many, besides the young. We commend it to the attention of teachers and parents.

A Hand-Book of Devotion. By Robert Lee, D.D., Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh. pp. 295. Edinburgh : Myles Macphail, 1845.

THIS book furnishes prayers for the mornings and evenings of four weeks, four occasional family prayers, and nine prayers for individuals. The author has sought, he says, to avoid the error of making them doctrinal rather than devotional, and has made considerable use of the Psalter, and of the Book of Common Prayer. Reserving our judgment respecting the wisdom of publishing, or using forms of prayer at all, we may safely describe these as scriptural in sentiment, and simple and appropriate in thought and language. There is nothing in them controversial, or wild, or *fine*; no teaching of God, no straining after effect. They are fit expressions of the common sentiments of true religion, and may be used by any one. We should not forget to say that an Introduction of fifty-seven pages contains many very sensible observations and reasonings on the subject of prayer, in answer to objections, and in enforcement of the duty.

Sovereign Goodness the Source of Beneficial Distinctions. By W. Palmer. pp. 250. Dyer and Co., 1845.

THE writer of this treatise evidently possesses some acuteness and ingenuity, though he is sometimes fanciful, and his style would be improved by correction.

New Principles for the Poor. By Henry Hardinge, B.A., Rector of Theberton. pp. 142. Painter.

THE production of a clergyman, yet not marked by the offensiveness that belongs to many clerical effusions in the present day; and the advice tendered is more sensible, more healthy, more respectful to human beings, and therefore more likely to be useful, than the advice often given to the poor. The topics discussed are "Locality," "Education," "Manners," "Subordination," "Marriage," "Parental Obligations," "Religion," "Politics"; and though, in some things, we should speak to the poor in a different style, and of those who are not poor in a style yet more different, the "New Principles" are generally such as the poor need, and may profit by.

A Journey over the Region of Fulfilled Prophecy. By the Rev. J. A. Wylie, Dollar. pp. 129. Groombridge and Sons, 1845.

THE object of this little work is to present a bird's-eye view of the chief fulfilment of prophecy, for the benefit of those who have not the

opportunity of perusing larger works on the subject. The plan adopted is that of an imaginary journey. It is executed with care, and is well calculated to be useful to a large class of persons.

Sea-Side Pleasures : or, a Peep at Miss Eldon's Happy Pupils. By Elizabeth Anne Allom. pp. 144. Aylott and Jones, 1845.

A VISIT to the sea-side, in the course of which some interesting information is imparted respecting shells, &c. Young persons, going to the coast, will find it an entertaining companion.

An Exposition of the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. By the Rev. Robert Shaw, Whitburn. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. William M. Hetherington, LL D., St. Andrew's. pp. 333. Groombridge, 1845.

It is quite unnecessary, at this time of day, to explain or describe the Westminster Confession of Faith. We can only notice the features of this edition of it. Mr. Shaw says his object has been 'to state the truths embraced in each section, to explain the terms employed wherever it is necessary, and to illustrate and confirm the doctrines.' This he appears to have done with diligence and judgment; and those who agree with him in thinking 'that every truth set down in the Confession is 'most agreeable to the word of God,' will be glad of his exposition. For ourselves, we do not so think, and do not think, moreover, that Mr. Shaw has, on some points, succeeded in understanding the statements which he explains. To not a little, both in the Confession and the Exposition of it, in relation to the province of the civil magistrate, we very decidedly object. We are not warm friends to confessions at all, indeed, and should not be sorry if they were entirely abolished. The good which they effect is not, in our judgment, equal to the evil.

The Village Paupers, and other Poems. By G. W. Fulcher. pp. 200. Longman, Brown, Green, and Co. 1845.

IF the poor, like some people, are satisfied with being talked about, verily they may have abundant consolation. We do not know what many authors, of both prose and poetry, would have done, had not the condition and claims of the poor happened to become a fashionable subject. We say 'happened,' for we fear that much of the present zeal respecting them is not the effect of sound principle, but rather of the laws which provide a succession of popular national topics, operating through some particular circumstances affecting the state of the lower classes. Among those circumstances must be mentioned, beyond all question, the New Poor Law, against which much senseless sentimentality has been expended, but which nevertheless deserves, on many and grave accounts, the reprobation of a wise benevolence. The 'Union' occupies a conspicuous place in the 'Village Paupers,' as a matter of course, and its hardships and indignities are described with strong feeling, if not first-rate poetry.

The verse is correct and flowing; but we cannot place it above a great portion of modern productions of the muse. So many, now-a-days, can think with tolerable accuracy, and express themselves with propriety and even force, that a poet need be specially gifted to stand out prominently among his fellows.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

Poems. By Thomas Hood. 2 vols.

History of the French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees, settled in England from the Reign of Henry VIII. to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. By John S. Burn.

The Pryings of a Postman.

The Autobiography and Justification of Johannes Ronge, the German Reformer. Translated from the Fifth German Edition, by John Lord, A.M.

Missionary Life in Samoa, as exhibited in the Journals of the late George Archibald Lundie, during the Revival in Tutuila in 1840-41. Edited by his Mother.

Recollections of a Tour. A Summer Ramble in Belgium, Germany, and Switzerland. By J. W. Massie, D.D.

The Antiquity of the Gospels asserted on Philological Grounds, in Refutation of the Mythic Scheme of Dr. David Fred. Strauss. An Argument. By Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D.

Salvation Certain and Complete; or, the Greatest Sinners capable of being made Holy and Happy. By John Herrick.

Agnes Moreville; or, the Victim of the Convent. By the Rev. S. Sheridan Wilson.

The Three Grand Exhibitions of Man's Enmity to God. By David Thom.

The Destination of Man. By Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Translated from the German, by Mrs. Percy Sinnett.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six Important Vernacular English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Part V.

Emmaus; or, Communion with the Saviour at Eventide. By John Waddington.

The Early French Poets. A Series of Notices and Translations, by the late Rev. Henry F. Cary, M.A. With an Introductory Sketch of the History of French Poetry, by his Son, the Rev. Henry Cary, M.A.

Lives of English Poets, from Johnson to Kirke White. Designed as a Continuation of Johnson's Lives. By the late Rev. Henry Francis Cary, M.A.

Thoughts on Finance and Colonies. By Publius.

A New Universal, Etymological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, embracing all the Terms used in Art, Science, and Literature.

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British Female Biography. Being Select Memoirs of Pious Ladies in various Ranks of Public and Private Life. By the Rev. Thomas Timpson.

A Hand-Book for Lewes, Historical and Descriptive. With Notices of the Recent Discoveries at the Priory. By Mark Antony Lower.

Lays of the Sea, and other Poems. By Personne.

The Wild Huntsman. A Drama.

A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Wm. Knibb. By J. Aldis.